

Institute of Education

Doctorate of Philosophy in Education

Exploring the challenges and practices of citizenship education in *National and Civic Education* grades ten and eleven classrooms in Lebanon

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I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'B. H. L.', followed by a horizontal line.

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For those who have and do not have the will to make a change

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Abstract

Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Lebanon's pluralisms of multi-confessional and multicultural communities continue to sway the nation to and fro between conflict and post-conflict statuses. Since 1946, however, leaders in government and education have focused on citizenship education as a fundamental vehicle for social cohesion, justice and peace. Understandings of citizenship that teachers and students have as well as their experiences of teaching and learning it inside the *National and Civic Education* classroom provide insight into the challenges and practices of learning for active citizenship.

Across 16 schools, data was collected from 19 civics teachers through semi-structured interviews. Also, 435 students in years 10 and 11 participated in a self-reflective survey pack and class discussion. The first section of the survey pack allowed students to construct their conceptualizations of citizenship while the second section inquired into their learning experiences.

The teachers presented a nationalist-based citizenship and an education that allowed students to practice democracy and demanded strategies of memorization for learning content knowledge. The students conceptualized a maximal notion of citizenship and argued to replace current practices of memorization with collaborative and dialogic learning activities. Students also found the textbooks prescriptive and, consequently, hypocritical. Teachers and students experienced difficulties and limitations with the curriculum, timetable and the management of emotions during controversial discussions.

Students and teachers in Lebanon have, for the first time to date, described their conceptions of citizenship and discussed their civic education classroom experiences. From the evidence, I discovered the limitations of dialogic and participative classroom learning activities, a catch-22 of citizenship learning and a model of education for active citizenship. The innovative methodology pioneered a participative learning activity and an exercise demonstrating the capabilities of students contributing to education reform.

Notes on Editorial Style

Throughout the thesis, I have adopted certain styles when translating Arabic terminology, presenting numbers, emphasizing key words and phrases and signposting authors. The literature review is mainly based on English language sources. Since the research study is in the case of Lebanon, it also includes certain literatures published only in Arabic. Translating Arabic to English can be quite challenging considering differences in style, gender and terminology. Arabic writing has a certain poetic style, even in academic literature. Thus, I have attempted to translate the meaning rather than directly word-for-word. Also, gender in Arabic writing takes the masculine form by default. When translating Arabic texts, the sentences refer to *his* rather than *his/her*, *her* or *one's*. Also, certain Arabic terms do not have a direct English translation. Sometimes, two or three Arabic words used together can mean one English word and vice versa. However, it is important that certain Arabic words are kept so as to preserve their meanings. Therefore, I have put these Arabic terms in italics and defined them using their English synonyms throughout the thesis. I also spell them out in English letters with the appropriate pronunciation symbols with reference to the transliteration system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. In addition to the system, a dash (-) is placed above longer spoken vowels in words such as *muwātin* and *hiwār*. Finally, Arabic is also the main language of the classrooms where data was collected and so research instruments offered Arabic versions of tasks. Data in Arabic was translated into English.

When writing numbers, I have followed the guidelines of the *American Psychological Association* manual for publication (American Psychological Association Staff, 2001). Among them, numbers less than 10 are spelled out unless they are grouped with numbers 10 and above or presented as percentages or chapters. Words and phrases in boldface emphasize key points and ideas. Also, at the start of certain sections in the literature review, any collection of authors listed without references are signposts of primary sources used later on.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In January 2007, a civics teacher in Lebanon showed me the folder she carries to class. “Look, its grey. If it was orange, the kids would say ‘Hey, are you with General Aoun?’ If it was blue, they would say ‘Ah, so you’re with Hariri’. If it was yellow, they would ask me why am I with Hizballah. And if it was green they would tell me I was with Franjiyeh. And so on.” Political parties in Lebanon now have colour-based identities. Even among the youth under 18, a culture of political identity exists. However, this sectarian culture has fragmented Lebanon’s society through its armed conflicts while hostilities among religious and political sects continue.

The Lebanese Constitution and legislation recognize the plurality of religious sects and political diversities. In the Preamble, the Lebanese Constitution (1997) aims at the “abolition of political confessionalism” (p. 225) and, in Article 9, it decrees the respect to all “whatever religious sect they belong [to]” (p. 227). Furthermore, the law recognizes Fridays and Sundays as official school days off to accommodate for the majority of faiths – Muslims and Christians (Decree No. 22/m/2004)¹; however, schools request for either Friday/Saturday or Saturday/Sunday weekends. Aside from the legal intervention of recognizing the tensions and needs in such a plurality, education plays a more active role in both preventive and reconstructive approaches focusing on citizenship education as a vehicle for social cohesion. In the Lebanese school system, teaching citizenship was first made compulsory across all grade levels in 1946 following Lebanon’s independence from the French mandate. Also, following the Civil War of 1975-1989, the Ta’if Peace Accord in 1989 suggested necessary reforms in civic and history education for social reconstruction (see Appendices A₁-A₉ for Ta’if Peace Accord). Consequently, elements of education reform in the mid-1990s aimed at dealing with the social and political aftermaths of sectarian conflicts (cf BouJaoude & Ghaith, 2006; Frayha, 2004).

¹ This decree was forwarded as an internal circular by the Ministry of Education in 5 July 2004.

Citizenship education in Lebanon is implemented against a background of tensions and conflicts among political parties and religious sects. Some of these struggles have been recently fuelled by current events in the twenty-first century such as the return of Syrian troops to Syria, the series of political assassinations in Lebanon, the Israel-Lebanon war and the political gridlock of the Lebanese government in electing a president and the violence that occurred throughout. Regional armed conflicts and internal political tensions among the sects continue to fragment Lebanon's pluralist society. This constant state of instability raises questions regarding the extent to which education can provide solutions and directions for peace and justice. Thus, by exploring citizenship education, a component of education aimed for social cohesion and democratic participation, educationalists and researchers may further understand the challenges and opportunities of creating a more cohesive society through education.

In this research study, I explore the practices and challenges of teaching and learning citizenship in Lebanon's *National and Civic Education* classrooms. I look at experiences of teaching and learning of both teachers and students. I also investigate their concepts of citizenship in terms of feelings and behaviours. From this project, I aim to benefit an audience of researchers across various disciplines throughout the social and political sciences and education. Other stakeholders include teachers, students, parents, school leaders and policy makers in Lebanon and around the world. Moreover, the findings will specifically contribute to the discourse of teaching and learning for active citizenship. In addition, I address various methods of inquiry and the issues related in collecting data from children and schools in Lebanon. Overall, this study intends to contribute to a body of research for social cohesion in post-conflict societies.

The remaining sections of this introduction will present key areas that frame this research project and provide some background to the Lebanese context. Firstly, I discuss the personal motives and ontology in researching citizenship education. Then, I present a historical overview of the diversity in Lebanon and its education system. Finally, I describe the methodology for the literature review.

1.1 Personal motives and ontology

My upbringing and personal and professional experiences were key motivations in developing my interests and the ontological approaches used to explore citizenship education in Lebanon.

1.1.1 Personal motives

My life as a Lebanese outside Lebanon and my professional and academic experiences influenced my interests in citizenship. At the start of the 15-year civil war (1975-1989), my parents, born and raised in Lebanon, married in 1975 and migrated to Saudi Arabia. My father came from the country life whose parents farmed, traded locally and raised 10 of their 16 children (six of whom died at birth). My mother came from a more cosmopolitan background, grew up in the city in a family of seven whose mother taught in an elementary school and whose father, an engineer, led projects of roads and bridges in Lebanon and Iran. So, I was born into a patriotic family, opened to the traditions of international cultures, and so I learned my “Lebanonism” at home in Saudi Arabia and during summer visits to Lebanon.

Since Saudi Arabia at the time wanted to sustain its indigenous population, Saudi citizenship was granted only to Saudis. So legally, I stayed Lebanese. Still, we assimilated quite comfortably into the American culture, participating actively in the Boy Scouts of America and even celebrating Thanksgiving at home. In school, I remember learning U.S. History which focused mainly on the American Indians, the pilgrims from England, the presidents, the Statue of Liberty and immigration at the turn of the twentieth century. At the same time, we also assimilated into the indigenous culture through art class in school by drawing and colouring Islamic patterns, camels and palm trees and with the regular meals of rice and lamb at home and dates for snacks. We also regularly camped in the desert and fished in the Arabian Peninsula. Since Saudi Arabia at the time did not have American high-school systems, companies subsidized boarding school fees.

At 15, I went to Florida for three years to complete my high school diploma. After this, I pursued undergraduate studies at the American University of Beirut.

Lebanon was not completely new to me. We used to visit my grandparents in the summertime regularly while growing up. But it was at 18 when I started university that I first actually lived in Lebanon. I saw another generation of Lebanese youth, like myself, who returned to Lebanon after the civil war, spoke Arabic with a foreign dialect twist and who read and wrote Arabic at elementary levels. One day, while teaching primary school in Lebanon, my director (a native of New Zealand) asked me, "If you were to die, where would you be buried?" Without thinking too much, I replied, "Lebanon". Despite the Saudi and American cultures in my upbringing, I chose Lebanon. What had intrigued me the most was that I could not justify this sense of belonging.

As a new professional, in 2000, I started teaching fifth grade in a private school in Lebanon. After three months into teaching, the school director briefed the elementary teachers that we had to teach civics, a compulsory subject, one hour a week. We collected the new text books and, while reading what appeared as a new subject, I quickly came to realize its inappropriateness. The civics book was organized as a historical text with complex terms making the sentences incomprehensible. Not only did we, the elementary school teachers, lack the training for teaching this subject, but we also found many odd lessons which were also inappropriate for the students such as teaching nine-year-olds about tipping in restaurants. Thus, at the time, I found no real purpose for civics. However, this changed when I started my graduate studies in London.

While in the academic community, starting my Masters degree at the Institute of Education in 2004, I learned that citizenship education in England, following the Crick Report (Crick, 1998), had only recently become compulsory to promote social and political developments within multicultural Britain. That idea of citizenship education then seemed revolutionary and I wondered about the initiatives Lebanon could take for its own political and social turmoil. However, I learned that civics in Lebanon was the nation's citizenship education and that it has been compulsory for 60 years. I came to

suspect a gap, a rather wide one, between the aims of citizenship education and the realities in Lebanon. My upbringing and professional experiences questioned my identity, sense of belonging and education and the civics classrooms in Lebanon. They motivated me to start my research into citizenship education for my Masters dissertation. Through a small sample of questionnaires on teachers' and students' attitudes, I found emerging tensions between their perceptions on the importance of civic education and the difficulties of dealing with rote learning, contradictions and the inappropriateness of the content material to the age groups (Akar, 2005). Moreover, these experiences also formulated a neutral political position in the values and beliefs of the ontology used to approach the literature and findings of this research study.

1.1.2 A political position

My beliefs have no political attachments to any of the parties in Lebanon. From my upbringing, I was not politicized into a particular faction; but, instead raised in a house that supported a nationalist Lebanese identity. I come from a generation that did not experience at first-hand, the civil war (1975-1989). I did not have my house bombed or robbed by a militia. I did not see my parents murdered at a particular checkpoint because they were the 'wrong' religion. The only connections I have with the war are memories from summer visits of sand bags at the windows, citizens' band (CB) radios in the living rooms, my dad preparing cologne and cigarettes to give at checkpoints, waiting in bed at night for the whizzing of the bomb shells to stop and admiring ignorantly the symbols of political parties grossly decorating every free space of walls and buildings. So, from growing up without these politico-cultural experiences, I have no personal attachments to any of the political identities in Lebanon. This also includes the family I grew up in where my parents preferred to remain neutral. They even named us, their four children, names that could be either Christian or Muslim: Bassel, Jihad, Wisam and Amira. Ironically, however, Jihad, also my Aunt's name, gained a fundamentalist reputation internationally. Still, the household abstained from political identities and took on a nationalistic one, a Lebanese one.

Therefore, my only political stance is one that unconditionally condemns war, violence, racism and inequality. And while realistically we can only aim to minimize rather than eliminate them, I explore world phenomena with rationality, diplomacy and a will for progress and peace through education and the child-initiated activities within. My stance searches for differences and similarities from which to build foundations for, using Delors' (1996) term, "living together". Indeed, Charles Malik (1962), the Lebanese diplomat who largely influenced the consensus on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), believed that differences bring people together because of need, the need from others to make themselves stronger. The detachment from a political agenda also relates closely to Edward Said's (1978) "humanist" perspective which indicates the "unlikely eventuality that there might be anything political about what I do in that field" (p. 9). And so, from this, I began a journey of exploring conceptual and empirical-based literature, interviewing teachers and working with students to understand who I am and the tensions that challenge progress in Lebanon's cultural collage of pluralisms. First, I start by illustrating the foundations of its pluralisms and some of its controversies related to citizenship.

1.2 Diversity in Lebanon

Lebanon's pluralism can be viewed as multicultural, multi-religious or multi-confessional. Either way, its pluralisms have experienced conflicts and tensions throughout the political and social spheres in the past two centuries; mainly, the three main civil wars or armed conflicts: 1860-64, 1958 and 1975-1990 (Khalaf, 2002; Mattar, 2007). In the following, I briefly outline the histories of Lebanon to illustrate its **plurality of communities**. Within these communities exists a culture of sectarianism shown through controversial traditions of confessional and consociational democracies. Furthermore, I reveal how these traditions continue to challenge cohesion, equality and peace among the communities in Lebanon. And while these traditions of power struggles relate to themes of citizenship such as identity, democracy, equality and dialogue, I also illustrate Lebanon's initiatives through citizenship education for social cohesion and democratic participation. By describing the controversies and paradoxes of the Lebanese

conflicts and tensions and the roles of education in addressing them, I bring out the core purpose of this doctoral study – an exploration into the challenges of teaching and learning civic education in Lebanon.

1.2.1 Brief history of pluralism in Lebanon

Lebanon's history has developed into a mosaic² of over 18 recognized sects³ living together on this rather small East-Mediterranean country.⁴ In 3,000 B.C., Lebanon was occupied by a mix of people from the Arabian desert and the Indo-European 'Sea Peoples' known as Canaanites whom the Greeks recognized as Phoenicians (Hitti, 1967). As aristocratic merchants, the Phoenicians along the sea coast traded with the Pharaohs of Egypt and taught the Greeks navigation, literature, religion and decorative art (ibid). Heliopolis' temple had achieved "world-wide fame" where people worshiped the god of lighting and thunder and later the sun (p. 214)⁵ and Roman Berytus (known as Beirut) established "the most renowned provincial school of Roman law" which became a "mecca for the legal minds of the entire East" (pp. 226-227). During the Roman Empire, the Phoenician city-state was a centre of trade, the arts, religion and education for people from parts of Asia, Europe and Africa.

In the later seventh century, Islam was founded in Arabia and spread across the region. The Islamic faith and Arab ways of life became the dominant culture. However, Lebanon demonstrated a certain uniqueness. During the spread of Islam, Christian sects maintained their communities and did so as minorities. Hitti (1967) described Lebanon during this era as a "Christian islet in a sea of Islam" where Christians at the time had a "second-class citizenship" since they could not hold public office, nor wear turbans,

² 'Mosaic' has been previously used to describe the societal construct of Lebanon by Makdisi and Frayha; Makdisi (2000) described the Ottoman Empire as a mosaic where "ethnic and religious groups existed as separate and autonomous cultural and physical units" (p. 10).

³ Barakat (1993, p. 124) translates and summarizes Nassar's (1970, pp. 19, 26, 28) three definitions for sects which, in various degrees, describe religious communities and the social and political cultures and identities that emerge from them. Also, see <http://www.undp.org.lb/about/AboutLebanon.cfm> for statistics of religious sects.

⁴ Surface area of 10, 452 square kilometers.

⁵ Heliopolis' modern name is Ba'albak.

could not have saddles on their horses and were not allowed to build places of worship (p. 225). Meanwhile, a new religious sect – the Druze – had risen as a branch of Islam and spread throughout the 11th and 12th centuries. By the start of the Ottoman Empire in 1516, Lebanon had hosted an array of religious communities and cultures. However, as indicated below, during the co-existence of these communities, external and internal factors led to conflicts that gradually created a culture of sectarianism and political confessionalism which continue to stand as controversial backdrops for democratic citizenship in Lebanon's social, political, economic, environmental and educational spheres.

1.2.2 Sectarianism, confessionalism and citizenship

Sectarianism and confessionalism have been longstanding social and political traditions that continue to contest democratic citizenship in twenty-first century Lebanon. Modern-day Lebanon, during the Ottoman Empire (1516-1918), was part of a larger region called Mount Lebanon – a territory, or “emirate” (Traboulsi, 2007, chapter 1) of the empire. Throughout this emirate, the Islamic Ottomans granted civil and religious autonomy and protection to the Christian, Druze and Jewish minorities through its *millet* system. However, the *millet* system still marginalized the minority groups. While Aral (2004) argues that the Ottomans had treated all religious communities equally (p. 477), Makdisi (2000) maintains that the empire ended up treating the Sunni Muslims “socially and culturally superior to the other communities” (p. 11). Hence, reforms in 1839, also referred to as *al-Tanzimāt*, declared all subjects of the empire equal regardless of religious identity. Through these, according to Sirriyeh (1989), the empire established the “first confessional-based councils” as government bodies in the 1840s; however, they soon failed and led to the wars of 1858-1860 (p. 3).

The self-governing bodies of the Maronite and Druze communities in Mount Lebanon clashed over financial and political power and resulted in the massacres of 1860. So, with Europe's economic and political vested interests in Mount Lebanon, the European powers and the Ottoman Empire created the *Mutasarrifiyya* on the 9th of June 1861 (Makdisi,

2000; Traboulsi, 2007). This peace treaty, also titled *Règlement Organique*, recognized Mount Lebanon as a *mutasarrifat* or “privileged *sanjak* (administrative region)” of the empire governed by an external Christian (Sirriyeh, 1989, p. 16). As the non-Lebanese Christian governor replaced the corrupt local elitists, the *Mutasarrifiyya* “gave precise borders to the new province”, divided it into six districts with the intention to “separate the population as much as possible” and “create religiously homogenous administrative units” (Makdisi, 2000, p. 161). On the one hand, the *Mutasarrifiyya* “made the country one of the best-governed provinces of the empire” (Farah, 2000, p. xxiii) and started a “period of peace” (Sirriyeh, 1989, p. 3). On the other, however, Makdisi (2000) argues that this new social order merely “replace[d] a non-sectarian elitist culture with a sectarian one” since

one’s sect defined one’s involvement in the public sphere and ability to be appointed to office, to govern, to collect taxes, to punish, even to live and exist as a loyal subject (p. 162).

Furthermore, it also imposed a “discriminatory political system on the country” (Barakat, 1993, p. 17). The system of the *Mutasarrifiyya* defined the boundaries and freedoms of Lebanon’s democracy and co-habitation.

This system further reinforced the culture of sectarianism. The contestation, though, lies in the inference that, from the *Mutasarrifiyya* – the Ottoman-European policies for sectarian conflict resolution – sectarianism is the sole causation of sectarian-based conflicts in twentieth and twenty-first century Lebanon. On the one hand, sectarianism has been “openly promoted and defended as the only path to social peace” (Abu Jaber, 2003, p. 134) and, claimed by Edde (1994), as essentially democratic. On the other hand, through sectarian separatism, religious representations “became the groundwork for political organization in Lebanon with all its negative ramifications and ill effects lasting well up to the present time” (Farah, 2000, p. xxiii). However, while numerous others also directly relate conflicts from modern-day sectarianism with the Ottoman policies, Makdisi (2000) argues, it has too long been referred to as the roots of civil strife in

Lebanon (p. 6).⁶ Instead, sectarianism, as a discourse and practice, must be understood in its **context** which **then** identifies the controversial factors that lead to tensions and violence (Makdisi, 2000, emphasis added by self). Below, I demonstrate how the conflicts and tensions emerge from the **controversial traditions and practices of citizenship** that take place within a culture of sectarianism rather than sectarianism *per se*. I focus mainly on political confessionalism and conclude by listing other controversies that have emerged from it. Through these, I illustrate the contention of identity, dialogue and democratic participation and, consequently, the importance of education for citizenship.

Confessional and consociational democracy

In 1915, the *Mutasarrifiyya* came to an end along with the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the end of World War I in 1918. On the first of September 1920, Lebanon was taken under the French mandate (1920-1943) as Grand Liban. The mandate expanded Lebanon's borders and defined, for the first time, Lebanon's frontiers as we know today (Traboulsi, 2007). In 1926, Lebanon was declared a Republic. The mandate ended when, in 1941, the French Vichy government was defeated and, following pressure from British forces, Lebanon and Syria gained independence. The last French troops left Lebanon in 1946. However, following Muslim Ottoman rule and the mandate of a Christian superpower, France, Lebanon's independence heightened sectarian tensions by maintaining the distribution of power among the sectarian communities. And within this culture of sectarianism transpired a confessional and consociational democracy.

In Lebanon's confessional democracy, representation is based on a "sectarian power-sharing formulae" which includes the "practices and institutions" of the religious and political communities (Mattar, 2007, p. 49). So, through confessionalism, groups "confess their political and social demands; in other words, they articulate them and accent them" (Abouchedid, 2008). Confessionalism, or the proclamations of political

⁶ Makdisi (2000, p. 177) lists other supporting literature including Fawaz (1994), Harik (1968), Hitti (1957), Khalaf (2002) and Salibi (1965).

sectarianism is supported by the system of proportional government representation based on sectarian identity and population. This system of “proportional democracy” is also known as consociational democracy (Hanf, 1993, p. 29).⁷ Hence, political confessionalism emerges as a result of consociational democracy which, according to Nixon, Peterson, Woods, Reventlow, & Lykkegaard (2007), commonly appears in multi-ethnic societies. In Lebanon, its consociational democracy is based on the elements of a grand coalition (or elite cartel), mutual veto and proportionate representation (Hudson, 1988).⁸ Still, the confessional-consociational model in Lebanon continues to hinder democratic participation through internal divisions (Hudson, 1988), denial of rights (Mattar, 2007) and corruption (Mattar, 2004).⁹ Furthermore, political reform in 1990, following the Ta’if Accord, recognized the controversies of political confessionalism which amended Article 95 of the Lebanese constitution. Article 95 calls for the “abolishment of political confessionalism” through a transitional plan whereby the principles of confessional representation “shall be replaced by the principles of **expertise** and **competence**” in all public service jobs for the aim of “national reconciliation” (Lebanese Constitution, 1997, pp. 259-260, emphasis added by self).¹⁰ However, political confessionalism is strongly embedded into Lebanon’s social, political and sectarian cultures. Historical events in 1861 and 1943 illustrate this and show how confessionalism continues to fuel civil strife, fragment the plural Lebanese communities, threaten equality and justice and contest democratic citizenship in twenty-first century Lebanon.¹¹

Historical roots of political confessionalism – 1861 and 1934

Following the massacres of 1860 between the Maronite and Druze communities, the French and Ottomans issued the peace treaty, the *Règlement Organique*, which set up the

⁷ Hanf (1993) describes consociation in political science as “proportional democracy” coined from the Swiss concept of *Konkordanzdemokratie*.

⁸ Hudson (1988) also refers to Lijphart’s (1969) descriptions of a consociational democracy. See Lijphart (1969, pp. 17-30).

⁹ For more discussions on confessionalism and its impediments in the democratization of Lebanon, see Beydoun (2004) and Choueiri (2007).

¹⁰ However, Article 95 also notes the exception that Grade One posts and their equivalents “shall be distributed equally among Christians and Muslims without reserving any particular job for any sectarian group but rather applying the principles of expertise and competence” (ibid, p. 260).

¹¹ For a brief overview on the confessional system in Lebanon in 1920, see Mattar (2007, pp. 50-51).

Administrative Council for Mount Lebanon comprising 12 seats – two for each of the major sects: Catholic, Druze, Greek Orthodox, Maronite, Shi'a and Sunni. However, the Maronites protested for a system of representation based on “numerical or territorial distribution” since they populated almost 60% of the mountain (Khalaf, 2002, p. 279).¹² So, based on the population figures (see previous footnote), the new council comprised four Maronites, three Druze, two Greek Orthodox and one from each of the Greek Catholic, Sunni and Shi'a communities. Still, the administrative council “did not reflect actual sectarian proportions” because the Greek Orthodox, with only two seats, were slightly more populated than the Druze who had three (Choueiri, 2007, p. 24) and the Maronites, at nearly 60%, only had four instead of six of the 12 seats (Akarli, 1993, p. 83). Clearly, the structure of a consociational government prepared a significant backdrop for sectarian tensions. In addition, it raised numerous challenges concerning national identity, dialogue and democratic participation. These challenges became more evident following the reestablishment of political sectarianism for the first independent Lebanese government in 1943.

In preparing for Lebanon's independence, France and Lebanon used the consociational framework of the *Règlement Organique* for the allocation of power and designed a census in 1932. Despite its controversy as a “political issue” (Qubain, 1961, p. 7), the census showed a majority of 51% Christians over 47% Muslims (see table in Maktabi, 1999).¹³ From these statistics, the *National Pact of 1943* was created.¹⁴ Also called the National Covenant or *al-Mithāq al-Watani*, it was an “unwritten constitution” (Al-Marayati, 1968, p. 245) or “gentleman's agreement” (Qubain, 1961, p. 17) between Maronite President Beshara al-Khoury and Sunni Prime Minister Riad Al-Solh. They verbally agreed on a sectarian distribution of power: Maronite as President, Sunni as Prime Minister and Shi'a as Speaker of Parliament and Parliament would comprise a 6:5 ratio of Christians to Muslims among other principles and practices (see Appendix B). Although this distribution of power is not legislated, it nonetheless established in

¹² See population tables, in Arabic, in Haqqi (1969); for 1864-68, see p. 622 and for 1913, see table facing p. 644. For English translations of tables, see Table 1 in Choueiri (2007, p. 24) and tables 1 and 2 in Akarli (1993, pp. 105-106).

¹³ See Salibi (1988) for French interests in advocating for a pro-Christian government.

¹⁴ For more on the role of the 1932 census on the political agendas of state formation, see Maktabi (1999).

Lebanon a confessional democracy which continued to prove its instabilities (cf Mattar, 2007, p. 58) through subsequent armed conflicts.

Lebanon experienced an economic boom in the 1950s. Tourism had marked it the common phrase, 'Switzerland of the Middle East' and trade led the nation into financial prosperity. The growing economy thus financed the emigration of wealthy Christians overseas for higher education and work opportunities leaving the lesser privileged Muslims to gradually become the majority (Friedman, 1998). The change in population became evident and the Muslims called for another census and an amendment to the consociational structures proclaimed in the *National Pact of 1943*. However, the Christians resisted another census leaving the 1932 census as the last official count in Lebanon. The unwillingness to amend the National Pact's proportionate-based system gave rise to armed conflicts in 1958 between Muslims and Christians and later on became one of the major contributors to the 1975-1989 Civil War. This illustrates one of the many ways confessional-consociational democracy works against a consensual democracy that values equality, justice and citizenship and "denies the Lebanese such basic rights" (Mattar, 2007, p. 62). The political reforms in 1861 and 1943 established political confessionalism as the dominant political system which, consequently and somewhat ironically, created obstacles for elements of citizenship necessary for a cohesive national identity, democratic participation and non-violent means of conflict resolution.

Political confessionalism and citizenship

From political confessionalism in Lebanon, we see how armed-conflicts erupt from the tensions between confessional and national identities, how corruption continues to benefit the privileged individuals and confessional groups and how democratic participation and civil rights become exclusive to the elite. In addition to armed-conflicts, corruption and the infringement of civil rights and democratic participation, the people in Lebanon also face environmental crises such as management of stone quarries, waste, urban planning and industrial pollution which are also related to corruption and political sectarianism

(Saab, 2004). Political confessionalism has even led to controversies in history education. Salibi (1988) discusses how various histories taught by Muslims, Christians and Druze in schools contributed to armed conflicts in the 1975-1989 Civil War.¹⁵ A prominent political leader in the mid-1980s “repeatedly declared that the rewriting of the Lebanese history textbook was a necessary precondition for any lasting political settlement in Lebanon” since the civil war “was, in a fundamental way, a war to determine the correct history of the country (ibid, p. 201). Still, in 2004, the Ministry of Education issued a memo declaring the unification of history textbooks as unresolved (see Appendix C). Lastly, and not finally, the foreign intervention of external powers with vested interests in Lebanon and its sectarian groups have built and continue to contribute to the fundamental frameworks that further divide the local communities and hinder democratic participation (Choueiri, 2007; Khalaf, 2002; Makdisi, 2000; Traboulsi, 2007). Through presenting the challenges and consequences of political confessionalism, I highlight the significance of citizenship for progress in Lebanon.

The traditions and practices from political sectarianism hinder development in Lebanon’s numerous spheres (social, political, environmental, educational, economic, etc.) which brings us to the significance of citizenship for research. Nassif Nassar, a prominent Lebanese professor, expressed his contentions of confessionalism that while it aimed for “balance and equality”, it also went against the principles of citizenship – the relationship between the individual and the state (Raad, 2003). For instance, as I illustrated earlier, the culture of political sectarianism led to activities that benefited individuals or confessional groups on the expense of equality and the state’s democratic values. Therefore, the traditions and practices that have emerged from the culture of sectarianism raise critical issues concerning identity, rights and equality. Other more specific citizenship-related issues in Lebanon include national identity, human and civil rights, social justice, equality, democratic participation, inclusion, dialogue, consensus, critical thinking, transparency and values for expertise and competence. Lebanon has recognized these as key factors for social cohesion, democratization and sustainability in the twenty-first century through its numerous initiatives for reform and, more so, through education.

¹⁵ For a more in-depth discussion on history education and civil strife, see chapter 11, pp. 200-215.

1.2.3 Initiatives towards social cohesion and democratic citizenship

While political systems and reforms divided communities and led to inequalities among the inhabitants in Lebanon, there have also been reactions and initiatives to promote equality and justice through human rights instruments, private organizations and education reform. As far back as the *Tanzimāt* reforms of the Ottoman Empire, in 1856, the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane imposed limitations to the Shari'ah law and granted equality among all despite religious identity (Aral, 2004, p. 478; Hourani, 1991, p. 272). Furthermore, in modern Lebanon, the country has played crucial roles on an international level in developing and promoting human rights instruments. Charles Malik, a Lebanese philosopher, politician and diplomat, played a significant role in “shaping and securing consensus for the UN’s 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR]” (Glendon, 2000, p. 1). Also, at a conference in Beirut, Lebanon (10-12 June, 2003) sought to modify the Arab Charter on Human Rights (1994) towards a closer system to that of the UDHR (Chase & Hamzawy, 2006, pp. 226-233). In addition, a plethora of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as No Corruption – The Lebanese Transparency Association, National Democratic Institute, Association pour la Defense des Droits et des Libertes and the Lebanese Foundation for Permanent Civil Peace have actively committed to peace, democracy and justice through publications, media, education and action projects.¹⁶

Alongside constitutional amendments, human rights instruments and NGOs, education and citizenship education continue to play central roles in achieving social cohesion, inclusion, justice, non-violent means of conflict resolution and fulfilling Article 95 of the Lebanese constitution. The Ta’if Accord that ended the 1975-1989 civil war urged for education reforms as necessary measures for peace-building (See section F in Appendix A₇). Moreover, through its national curriculum, Lebanon has utilized education as a “vehicle for social and civic reconstruction” (Frayha, 2004, p. 174) and for “minimizing the impact of sectarianism on the young generation” (Frayha, 2003, p. 88). Hence, the

¹⁶ See <http://portal.undp.org.lb/neo/neoindex.cfm> for the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) directory of NGOs operating in Lebanon. Last retrieved on 15 September, 2007.

program of study titled *National and Civic Education* continues to aim at minimizing the injustices related to political confessionalism by promoting a sense of unity, democratic participation and dialogue. So, through this research study, I investigate civic education in Lebanon by exploring the challenges of teaching and learning in the civics classroom. The following presentation on the education system of Lebanon sets the final contextual backdrop before exploring the concepts and tensions found in citizenship education literature most relevant for this research study. In this presentation, I describe the education structure of schooling in Lebanon and illustrate the central role of citizenship education in Lebanon's national and education reforms.

1.3 Lebanon's education system and civic education

Citizenship education in Lebanon was first made compulsory in the first national curriculum in 1946. Its aims continue to address the social, political and environmental conflicts and tensions. Furthermore, its themes of citizenship and democracy continue to underpin education reform. In this section, I present the main objectives behind education reform in Lebanon and illustrate citizenship and democracy as their fundamental frameworks. I then outline the structure of the education system in Lebanon followed by an introduction to the *National and Civic Education* program of study.

1.3.1 Education reform, citizenship and democracy

As an independent country, Lebanon wrote its first national curriculum in 1946 modifying the 1926 Ministère de l'Instruction Publique of the French mandate. It had focused on the transition from French influence to a nationalist Lebanese identity with Arabic as the main language of study.¹⁷ The national curriculum was then further revised in 1968 during the Pan-Arab movement replacing the Lebanese identity with the Arab identity. Then, in the mid-1990s, following the Ta'if Accord that ended the 1975-1989 Civil War, the National Centre for Educational Research and Development (NCERD), a unit within the Ministry of Education (MOE), carried out The Plan for Educational

¹⁷ See Frayha (1995, pp. 180-269) for a more indepth historical overview of education development in Lebanon.

Reform in 1994. From this, the MOE published a revised national curriculum in 1997. The significance of the 1997 national curriculum lies in the frameworks of citizenship and democracy that grounded the rationale of its development and its general aims.

The NCERD began The Plan for Educational Reform on the basis of “general principles regarding internal peace, social unity and citizenship” (Frayha, 2004, p. 175). Moreover, three dimensions informed these principles and grounded the underpinning aims and rationales of The Plan for Educational Reform. Table 1.1 lists the principles and values from the cultural, national and social dimensions discussed by BouJaoude & Ghaith (2006, pp. 197-198). The descriptions listed across the dimensions illustrate the values and principles of democracy, cosmopolitanism, peace, human rights and children’s rights. However, parts of the education reform process contradicted some of the principles expressed in the three dimensions. Some observations include the selection rather than the election of committee members, the absence of parents’ or teachers’ associations and the “lack of any input from students” (BouJaoude & Ghaith, 2006, p. 207). Despite the undemocratic and top-down processes of education reform, the reforms still embedded, within the national curriculum, significant frameworks of education for citizenship.

Table 1.1 Cultural, national and social dimensions of education reform in Lebanon

Cultural	“Respect for the values of freedom, democracy, tolerance, human rights, antiviolenace and the disdain for religious fundamentalism and discrimination”, “role of Lebanon in the Arab world” and the “openness to world cultures”
National	“Lebanon as an independent sovereign Arab country”, has strong relations with other countries, “democratic nature of Lebanon, the rule of law and respect for political and individual freedoms”
Social	“Rights and responsibilities of the individual to others and to society”, “access to quality education and the right...to free education, the importance of continuous curricular reform” and “the responsibility of citizens to participate in and contribute to all aspects of the educational process”

Taken from BouJaoude & Ghaith (2006, p. 197).

The national curriculum, titled *The Programmes of General Education and Its Aims*, aims at “building the personality of the individual” and “creating the citizen” for the Lebanese, Arab and global community (Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 4). In Shuayb’s (2005b)

content analysis of its curricular aims, however, she argued that the new curriculum contradicted the aims of personal and social development since citizenship was the “top priority of the new curriculum” (ibid, p. 112) and that the main aims were more “concerned with developing the social cohesion of the Lebanese society” (p. 113).¹⁸ While it can be argued that, through citizenship education, a rights-based approach in school addresses the basic needs and social developments of children (cf Osler & Starkey, 2005a; United Nations, 1989; Verhellen, 2000), her content analysis still shows citizenship to be a central theme in education policy.

From Lebanon’s independence and through to the twenty-first century, the values of democratic citizenship guide education development. Although the actual practices of reform and policy-making may contrast to the principles promoted, the principles from the social, national and cultural dimensions have still provided the necessary frameworks in building the civics program. And, thus, the civics program and the teaching and learning that happen in the classroom present another perspective into exploring the practices and challenges of citizenship education in Lebanon. The following two sections briefly describe the schools systems and cycles of study and present the main aims of the *National and Civic Education* program of study.

1.3.2 School system and cycles of study

Historically, schools in Lebanon have developed on confessional bases (cf Abouchedid, 1997). So, to protect the freedoms of establishing confessional schools and, at the same time, an education based on common educational aims grounded in state principles, Article 10 of the constitution states that

Education is free in so far as it is not contrary to public order and morals, and does not affect the dignity of any of the religions or sects. There shall be no violation of the right of religious communities to have their own schools,

¹⁸ Shuayb counted the number of times the themes, from a list of ten, were mentioned and as a result *citizenship* (the highest), *social*, *moral*, *environment*, *personal*, *physical* and *psychological* had scores of 12, 8, 4, 2, 1, 1 and zero, respectively (see Table 4.1 in Shuayb, 2005, p. 112).

provided they follow the general rules issued by the state regulating public instruction (Lebanese Constitution, 1997).

Consequently, private education flourished. Indeed, 62% of the students in Lebanon are enrolled in private schools.¹⁹ Not only do parents across the social classes go to great lengths to school their children in the private sector, but even the government demonstrates a lack of confidence in public education as subsidies are given to government employees for their children's private schooling (Nabti, 2006, p. 250). Still, all schools, public and private, are subject to inspection by the MOE.

The Lebanese education program awards the Baccalaureate certificate. However, in addition to the Lebanese program, certain private schools provide opportunities to pursue other certificates such as the International Baccalaureate, High School Diploma and Graduate Certificate of Secondary Education. Typically, these programs accommodate students with weak Arabic language skills since the Lebanese Baccalaureate official exams for History, Geography, Civics and Arabic are only in the Arabic language. Still, in addition to the Lebanese Baccalaureate being the dominant education program, its certificate is compulsory for attending the Lebanese University (state-funded education) and employment in the government or civil service.

The Lebanese school system is divided into four cycles (see Table 1.2). Basic education is compulsory up until the age of 15, with a final official government exam, the Baccalaureate I (the Brevet). The student then decides to pursue a secondary education which terminates with a Baccalaureate II exam (Terminale). The *National and Civic Education* program is statutory, starting from Elementary I at the approximate age of six years, and continues to the end of secondary school, 11 years later, and is tested in each of the Baccalaureate official exams. In this study, I research *National and Civic Education* classrooms during the first two years of Cycle IV – grades 10 and 11 – in private Lebanese secondary classrooms. Their ages range from 15 to 16 years old. I provide a more detailed rationale of this in the methodology chapter.

¹⁹ Statistics retrieved in Arabic from NCERD website <http://www.crdp.org/CRDP/default.htm>. 5 February 2008.

Table 1.2 Stages and years of study in Lebanese school system

Stages	Cycles	Years of Study	Official Exams
Kindergarten		2	
Elementary I	Cycle I	3	Basic Education
Elementary II	Cycle II	3	
Intermediate	Cycle III	3	
Secondary	Cycle IV	3	Baccalaureate I (Brevet)
			Baccalaureate II (Terminale)

Information taken from the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1997).

1.3.3 National and Civic Education

Citizenship education is taught in Arabic. Although the official title translates into *National Education and Civic Training/Learning*, it is referred to in English as *National and Civic Education* (El-Amine, 2007). Throughout the thesis, I often make a short-hand reference to the subject as either civic education or civics. Furthermore, I make a distinction between civic education and citizenship education in the latter half of chapter 2. Briefly, though, civic education pertains more specifically to the teaching and learning of civil laws, rights, institutions, behaviours and identities at the national level while citizenship education is more deeply embedded in human rights education, sustainability and other themes that interchange across national and global levels.

According to the national curriculum, *National and Civic Education* is taught 30 hours per school year across all four cycles. While most schools have organized this as one hour per week, one specific private school I had visited had allocated the first trimester for history, the second for geography and the third for civics. Although private schools have the freedom to use any textbook for the taught subjects, all schools are obliged to use the civics textbook provided by the MOE. Each grade level has its own textbook developed according to the learning objectives prescribed in the revised 1997 national

curriculum. The development and production of common civics and history textbooks were recommendations from the Ta'if Accord in 1989 (see section F5 in Appendix A7). However, the political tensions continue to undermine and delay the unification of the history textbook. Indeed, a memo issued by the MOE in 2004 officially declares the unavailability of common history books for cycles I and II (see Appendix C for scanned copy of memo in original Arabic format).

Table 1.3 Nine main aims of *National and Civic Education*

1. To prepare the student morally in harmony with the humanistic values in his [sic] community and country.
2. To introduce him [sic] to the vocational world and to build in him [sic] a spirit for work and appreciation for workers in different fields.
3. To prepare the student, in a civil sense, to enable him [sic] to contribute to world development in harmony with the spirit of modernity.
4. To teach how to critique, debate and to accept the other and to solve conflicts with his [sic] peers through a spirit of peace, justice and equality.
5. To build a social spirit so that he [sic] feels he [sic] is part of a larger community that is enriched with a diversity of ideas.
6. To raise the standards of his cultural, social, political and economic contributions and encourage his [sic] free participation in his [sic] civil life.
7. To promote his [sic] devotion/loyalty to his [sic] Lebanese identity, land and country through a cohesive and unifying democratic framework.
8. To raise the awareness of his [sic] Arab identity and his [sic] loyalty to it and a sense of Arab belonging to it that is open to the whole world.
9. To promote the awareness of his [sic] humanity through the close relationships with his [sic] fellow man [sic] regardless of gender, colour, religion, language, culture and any other differences.

Taken from *The Programmes of General Education and their Aims* (Ministry of Education, 1997).

The nine general aims of the *National and Civic Education*, listed in Table 1.3, illustrate a range of practices and levels of identity. While aims four, five, eight and nine emphasize cultural, national and global levels of feelings and practices, the remainder focus on the development of the civil sense and civil life at the national level.²⁰ Furthermore, so long as the language maintains the male form, this construct reflects an implicit gendered view of citizenship.

²⁰ For a more in-depth analysis of the Lebanese civics curriculum, see El-Amine (2003) and Lebanese Association for Educational Studies (2003).

In this research study, I explore this subject inside the classroom by investigating what citizenship means to students and teachers as well as their experiences of teaching and learning the civics program. Through this, their understandings and experiences will shed more light on the gap between the aims of education for peaceful and cohesive living and, on the other side, the realities and challenges of learning to live together.

1.4 Methodology of Literature Review

The literature review for this study comprises two chapters. The first chapter explores concepts of citizenship looking at various notions and contestations of citizenship. The second chapter focuses on the traditions of memorization as contested strategies of learning for active citizenship. These two chapters aim at providing the reader with a clearer understanding of concepts, approaches and tensions of citizenship and citizenship education for the purpose of researching education for progress and development in Lebanon. Furthermore, readers of West European and North American literature will gain a unique insight into the literatures that inform citizenship and education for citizenship in West Asia and North Africa and, more specifically, Lebanon. In reviewing the background literature, I based the methodology on two approaches: 1) research paradigms; and 2) cultural-based literature.

1.4.1 Research paradigms

The first approach had to do with the way I organized and presented the ideas and arguments. This involved the use of four research paradigms: 1) chronological order; 2) logical division of ideas; 3) compare and contrast; and 4) order of importance (S. Hart & Mathews, 2006). In general, the overall structure of the literature review is divided into two main ideas starting with the broad conceptions of citizenship and their tensions in the Lebanese context. I then move to focus on citizenship education and certain issues regarding teaching and learning for active citizenship. Throughout certain sections of the chapters, I have organized ideas of literary works in chronological order presenting brief

historical overviews. Arguments are then collected and organized in a logical division of ideas for further critical analyses. Moreover, the cultural range of literature used brings out numerous similarities and differences that allows for rich comparisons and contrasts. The fourth is what I consider the intellectual paradigm since it requires a critical approach for selecting important concepts and ideas from the literature to further build on the frameworks necessary for this research study.

1.4.2 Cultural-based literature

The second approach relates to how I see the construction of knowledge in the context of the research focus – citizenship education in Lebanon. When researching citizenship education at the University of London, the frameworks commonly used to research citizenship and education primarily come from Europe and the Americas. For instance, the Greeks Plato and Aristotle, the French Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the American John Dewey, the German Jürgen Habermas and the Brazilian Paulo Freire have fundamentally contributed to the foundations of twenty-first century citizenship education. This tradition and its current embodiment in the construction of what we understand as citizenship and education presents a foundation that may inherently be different from the context of my study. That is, the cultural context of my fieldwork in Lebanon brings me into contact with perspectives, contestations and practices that differ from those I have been taught from so far. In acknowledging these differences, I therefore adopt an approach that allows for a critical review of the literature juxtaposing literature from the region in which Lebanon rests alongside those of Europe and the Americas.

The underlying rationale for this approach comes from an awareness of the controversies that arise when using theoretical frameworks developed in the dominant world of thought to explore phenomena in a context found in a region of the world that differs socially, politically, economically and culturally (Said, 1978). Said (*ibid*) illustrates the controversy when he outlines how leading Western-based academics and magistrates created the idea and the reality of the Orient. This Orient is a construction from the perspectives and approaches of European scholars and political and religious leaders

between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries who constructed “a collection of dreams, images, and vocabularies” about “what lies east of the dividing line” (ibid, p. 73). Furthermore, scholars from the West created a culture and an attitude of superiority versus inferiority and of correctness versus submissiveness (ibid). A reading of Said’s *Orientalism* emphasizes the criticalness, necessity and progressiveness of grounding research in ideas and literature produced within the indigenous region under study which in this case is Lebanon and the greater surrounding geographical region.

I emphasize that I do not intend to polarize the two cultures in the clichéd East versus West paradigm. Instead, in relation with my ontology which I noted earlier, I consider it important to highlight commonalities and understand differences between these two cultural domains in addition to considering the cultural influences on education and citizenship. I do this fully aware of the controversies and political connotations that arise by identifying the two regions as the “West” as one and the “East” or “Middle East” or “Arab world” as the other.

The traditions and literatures that influence the cultural context of Lebanon include North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the countries north of it bordering the Mediterranean Sea extending west to Iran and Iraq. Referencing this region, however, to a particular term is problematic in that it raises competing terminologies each of which, arguably, carries with it controversial political connotations. For example, when using “Middle East” the political connotation arises from the inherent comparison to the West. Likewise, when using the term “Arab world”, there is the strong criticism of categorizing a heterogeneous group of nations and peoples into a false homogenous unit.

Hourani (1991), for example, in *A history of the Arab peoples*, refers to the “Arabic-speaking parts of the Islamic world” which include the Maghrib (North-west Africa) and the Middle East (p. xiii). Although Hourani discusses the Christian and Jewish cultures within the region, the term “Arab” still denotes an Islamic and Arabic-speaking cultural region which can potentially exclude certain Christian and Jewish communities across the region and the Persian identities in Iran. Even certain “Islamists” and “sectarian parties”

such as the Shi'a and Kurdish parties in Iraq "contest the 'Arab' qualification of their countries" (Traboulsi, 2008). Hence, the title "Arab world" carries with it a political undertone which has attempted to be neutralized with "Middle East". Sadiki (2004) even combines the two to title the region as the Arab Middle East. However, the Middle East, too, suggests a political implication. Traboulsi (2008) argues that "Near East, Levant, Middle East, New Middle East, Greater Middle East, Larger Middle East are not neutral; they are stigmatized with strong colonialist and imperialist connotations". Said (1978), too, raised the awareness of European-constructed terminologies such as the Orient, Near Orient and Near East. Thus, from a humanist perspective with apolitical, diplomatic intentions, I refer to the two regions' locations by their continents. What is typically regarded as the Middle East, I refer to as **West Asia and North Africa** and for what is commonly referred to as the West, I call **Western Europe and North America**.²¹

1.5 Structure of thesis

This thesis comprises nine chapters. Following this first chapter, I present the literature review in two chapters. Chapter 2 presents working definitions for citizenship, citizenship education and active citizenship. Subsequently, I then describe the tensions of education for social cohesion in Lebanon and critically analyze the limitations of civics as a program of study for active citizenship. In chapter 3, I review memorization as a controversial strategy to learning citizenship and, in the context of Lebanon, as a longstanding tradition. Following the literature review, I present the methodology and ethical issues considered with collecting data from students and teachers in the fourth chapter. Chapter 5 discusses the findings from the teacher interviews which mainly focus on their challenges and experiences in teaching civics. The findings from the student data are presented in chapters 6 and 7 where the former discusses their conceptualizations and the latter their civics learning experiences. I then, in chapter 8, engage the emerging themes from the findings, raising discussions on their commonalities and differences. I conclude this thesis in the ninth chapter by summarizing my contributions to knowledge, the recommendations based on the evidence and implications for further research.

²¹ Whilst I make references to the Brazilian, Paulo Freire, I recognize his work as South American.

Chapter 2

Citizenship and citizenship education

Notions of citizenship have varied throughout history, across cultures and among thinkers. These range from the early versions of democracy in Ancient Greece to Islamic concepts of solidarity after seventh-century Arabia and, in the modern world, around the promotion and protection of human rights. Across these frameworks exists a common idea of citizenship – an existing relationship between the individual and the community. This first of two literature review chapters explores citizenship and education for citizenship. I start by establishing working definitions for “community”, “citizenship” and “active citizenship”. From these definitions, I critically analyze the educational tensions between civics and citizenship education later on in the chapter. Also, I use these terms to analyze and discuss the findings from the students’ and teachers’ responses.

2.1 Defining community, citizenship and active citizenship

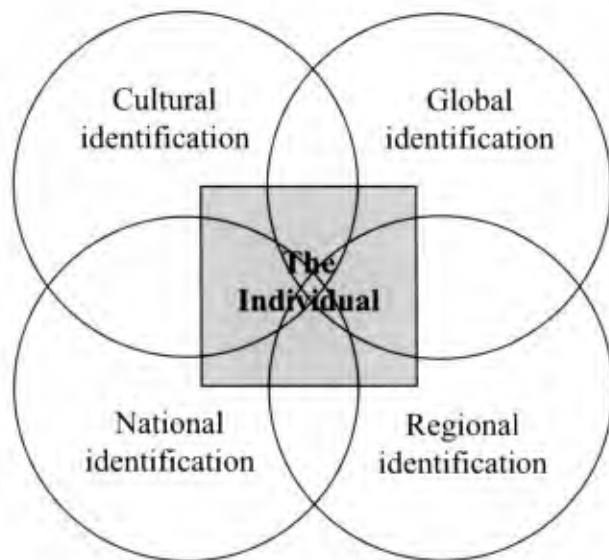
This thesis explores education for active citizenship in Lebanon, or in broader terms, **the active relationships between individuals and communities**. This relationship comprises numerous dimensions, three of which are most relevant: community, citizenship and active citizenship. Since the themes of community, citizenship and active citizenship carry with them contested or varied perspectives, I find it necessary to define them. Drawing on Banks, Bauman, Etzioni and Delanty, a community identifies the groups we relate to at various levels. Citizenship, built on concepts by Marshall, Isin & Turner and Osler & Starkey, identifies the elements involved in the relationships between individuals and communities. And finally, active citizenship is presented as the participative behaviours that promote a relationship grounded in humanistic and democratic principles for peace and justice based on notions by McLaughlin, Lawton and Parker.

2.1.1 Communities as places and feelings

Poetically, John Donne claimed almost four centuries ago that “No Man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe” (1987 [1624], p. 87). This illustration makes visible the unavoidable and manifested connections or relationships individuals have with their surroundings. These surroundings may be characterized as communities. Throughout this thesis, I refer to “community” as a **body of direct relationships** in the definition of citizenship and, oftentimes, a “sense of community” as a **feeling of belonging and understanding** when discussing aims of citizenship education.

The modern conception of community refers to a “body of direct relationships” (R. Williams, 1983, p. 75) illustrating group(s) which we directly connect with. Dewey (1916), though, described a more abstract sense in the “great community” of cultures and traditions of which people essentially aim to feel as members. Today, global change has brought about new issues and challenges through the “creation of new forms of communit[ies]” (Kerr, 1999, p. 11) such as the European Union, academic communities and global movements for peace and sustainability. While the idea of global citizenship existed in the *cosmopolis* of Ancient Greece, the technology and migrations in today’s global developments have created more complex notions of multicultural communities (cf Banks et al., 2005; Osler & Starkey, 2005a). Furthermore, among the plurality of communities, a community of communities (Parekh, 2000) or “multiple communities” is better understood using Banks’ (2004, p. 7) model of cultural, national and global levels of identification as illustrated in Figure 2.1. However, I build on this by adding a regional level as a fourth element. A regional identity encompasses a collection of countries under a common umbrella such as the African Union, the League of Arab States and the European Union. True, levels of identification and attachments may continue to multiply, but these four elements provide a basic framework from which multiple identities derive from. Therefore, I explore citizenship across communities that include **multiple bodies of relationships in one’s culture, country, region and world**. In this study on Lebanon, I most frequently refer to the national community, or the nation-state, and the sectarian communities that make up its plurality.

Figure 2.1 Banks' Cultural, National and Global Identifications



Adapted from Banks (2004, p. 7).

Community is also used as a “warmly persuasive word” to describe **feelings** (R. Williams, 1983, pp. 75-76, emphasis added by self) which Bauman and Delanty have further built on to distinguish from the more specific and institutional relationships of society. Bauman (2001) illustrates the notion of community as being a feeling; a feeling of security and shared understanding crucial for survival in the modern world. Moreover, it is a “necessary condition of dialogue between cultures” that opens communities up to each other and “enhance the humanity of their togetherness” (Bauman, 2001, p. 142). However, Bauman (2001) still realizes this notion of community as a “paradise lost” (p. 3) which, by and large, idealizes the community as a utopian comfort zone which we are constantly seeking. Also, Delanty (2003) identifies community as a feeling of belonging. This sense of belonging is built through networks and integral to communication with others (ibid). Furthermore, these networks have also been described as “social webs of people” with a “moral voice” for a communitarian world (Etzioni, 1995, p. ix). Although Bauman’s notion may appear slightly too romantic in the pragmatic sense, I build on Delanty’s sense of belonging and Bauman’s feelings of security and shared understandings that bridge cultures together. Therefore, a sense of community is a **feeling**

of belonging and mutual understanding for communication with others which I use alongside peace and justice as aims of citizenship education later on in this chapter.

2.1.2 Defining citizenship

In the latter half of the twentieth century and onwards, Marshall, Beiner, Crick, Isin, Turner, Heater, Kymlicka and Osler and Starkey are among the many who have constructed conceptual and theoretical frameworks for better understanding the idea of citizenship. Through their own disciplines, they have demonstrated how citizenship has been, and continues to be, contested in the legal, social and political realms of the modern world. From their intersections of politics, democracy, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, law, education and social policy, a common understanding of citizenship emerges. **Citizenship is the feelings and behaviours in the two-way relationship between individuals and communities.**²² This has been drawn from the insights of Marshall, Heater, Isin & Turner and Osler & Starkey.

T. H. Marshall's framework comprises three waves of rights: civil, political and social. These elements developed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century England starting with civil or legal rights such as freedom of speech, owning property and other liberties bound by law (Marshall, 1950). Subsequently, the right to participate in the political sphere developed and was followed by social rights for financial security, sharing the social heritage and living the standards set by society (ibid). These three emerged as responses to social inequalities and economic injustices that resulted from the widening of the social classes at the time. In addition, Marshall (1950) responded to Alfred Marshall's preceding idea of citizenship which "mentioned only its duties and not its rights" (p. 8).²³ Here, Marshall's framework builds on the relationship between the political system and the social system by guaranteeing people's freedoms through legal rights. Thus, his influence lies in demonstrating the numerous elements involved within

²² Osler (2008, p. 465) illustrates a notion of horizontal relationships with people in contrast to relationships with the state which suggests a horizontal-vertical model of citizenship between people (horizontal) and the state (vertical).

²³ T. H. Marshall refers to Alfred Marshall's paper *The Future of the Working Classes* which he read to the Cambridge Reform Club in 1873; see Marshall (1950, pp. 3 & 8-9).

the individual's citizenship. However, it still remains a functional model for a specific time and place. The influence of the social, political and economic events in nineteenth and twentieth century England led to the construct of Marshall's conceptual framework of citizenship. However, Marshall's constructs of citizenship through civil, political and social rights still "blinded him to the significance of gender" for the "contemporary practice of citizenship" (Lister, 1997, p. 68). Towards the end of this section, I discuss the large extent to which certain practices and statuses of citizenship in modern-day Lebanon are still exclusive to males which results in the marginalization and exclusion of women. Thus, Marshall's framework of citizenship remains limited for the twenty-first century and in its applicability in the region across West Asia and North Africa.

Heater (2004a), as historian, explicitly lists five elements that have historically been associated with citizenship: identity, civic virtue and the legal, political and social facets. Although Heater demonstrates how these elements have been continuously present and constantly changing throughout history, he appears to have selected these elements to illustrate an ideal notion of citizenship rather than an idea of citizenship. The difference between the two lies in that an ideal seeks a perfect notion while an idea presents a notion. Citizenship becomes contested when seeking its perfect notion as demonstrated through Pocock (1995) and Heater (2004a). Indeed, Heater (*ibid*) presents a limitation in an ideal notion of citizenship and argues that, in principle, a universal and "ideal definition" (p. 339) of citizenship for all times and places seems "pointless" due to the tensions and "polarizing trends" (p. 288). Nonetheless, Heater (*ibid*) still identifies broad elements of citizenship in three chapter titles: the feeling of citizenship, the political citizen and the status of citizenship. Through these, he constructs a relationship that is primarily political without an explicit definition of citizenship. However, these headings amount to a definition that is explicitly taken up by Osler and Starkey.

Osler and Starkey, as educationalists, present a more holistic model to understanding citizenship across communities. Status, feelings and practice are three "essential and complementary dimensions" for better understanding the dynamic relationships within citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2005a, p. 9). One's status, typically a legal status of

nationality, traditionally defines citizenship. Status may appear as a passive element in the relationship with communities. However, it incorporates certain civil, political and social rights and duties which, furthermore, help us understand the struggles and challenges of migrants and refugees actively participating in society (ibid). The second element features the feelings of citizenship. This includes feelings of identity, inclusion or exclusion, nationalism and fairness; all of which contribute to an overall sense or feeling of belonging (ibid). The third and final element, practice, is “associated with democracy and with human rights” (ibid, p. 14). Although I often refer to this dimension as behaviour rather than practice, this critical element still includes behaviours such as voting, recycling and defending the rights of others. Status, feelings and practice influence each other in constructing relationships or citizenship across communities. Despite their inter-relationships, my research study focuses on feelings and practice since the pluralisms of my participants are more of a confessional nature rather than of legal status.²⁴ Thus, considering **feelings** and **practices** as basic components of defining citizenship for this study, I turn to a more complex conceptual framework of citizenship.

For Isin and Turner (2002), as sociologists, citizenship is “a language of rights and obligations” based on extent, content and depth as its three fundamental axes (pp. 1-4). The extent of citizenship identifies the “boundaries of membership” or participation demonstrated through exclusion and inclusion and content describes the “benefits and burdens of membership” through rights and responsibilities (p. 4). Thirdly, the depth of citizenship shows the thickness and thinness of identities. Essentially, these rights and obligations demonstrate the dynamics of giving and receiving in the relationship between individuals and communities. Hence, **citizenship is the feelings and behaviours in the two-way relationship between individuals and communities**, again, most commonly with the state and sectarian groups.

I have just set working definitions for citizenship and community. Since this thesis explores students’ conceptualizations of citizenship and teachers’ and students’ pedagogical experiences in the civics classrooms, a framework is necessary for the

²⁴ For more on the controversies of citizenship as a status in Lebanon, see Maktabi (2000).

evaluation of degrees or ranges of their concepts and experiences. In the next section, I draw on McLaughlin's minimal/maximal spectrum, Turner's and Lawton's active and passive views of citizenship and through a combination of content knowledge and practice, I define active citizenship as **active participation across communities that leads to change based on the principles of humanistic and democratic values.**

2.1.3 Active citizenship

McLaughlin, a philosopher of education, suggests a minimal/maximal approach to identifying **degrees** of feelings and behaviours in citizenship. McLaughlin (1992) interprets identity, virtues, political involvement and social presuppositions through minimal and maximal notions. The minimal end views citizenship as private, passive and closed where one's identity is limited to legal status and participation is minimized to the local area such as voting and following laws (ibid, pp. 236-237). On the other hand, maximal views of citizenship lean more towards public, active and open feelings and behaviours where identity is constructed at various levels and engagement is more critical and active through democratic activities (ibid, pp. 236-237). Thus, the maximal end of the spectrum builds upon the idea of active citizenship, one that informs democratic and participative behaviours across communities rather than abiding by laws or participating for the interests of oneself or a particular party. Hoskins (2006) provides a definition for active citizenship based on these maximal notions, "Participation in civil society, community and/or political life characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy" (p. 6). However, I argue that an additional perspective indicating action for change is also a critical component of active citizenship.

Active and passive views of citizenship and citizenship education further illustrate active citizenship as an agent for change when individuals engage in democratic participation. Turner (1990) discussed its role as agency by analyzing "active and passive forms of citizenship in terms of whether the citizen is conceptualized as merely a subject of an absolute authority or as an **active political agent**" (p. 209, emphasis added by self). Also, Lawton (2000) described citizenship education in passive and active views where the

passive teaches “facts about government” and the “duties and responsibilities of a good citizen” which creates a passive citizen by “training for conformity and obedience” (p. 11). On the other hand, the active view concentrates on “political ideas and conflicts; and developing democratic attitudes and values” educating the active citizen for “active participation in a democratic society” (ibid, p. 11). Hence, the underpinning values of active citizenship come from democratic principles whereby change benefits others and the state as opposed to interests of a certain party or self (Janoski & Gran, 2002) and promotes inclusion in societies diversified by religious and ethnic communities (Kiwana, 2008). In addition, education for active citizenship involves the building of skills to “enhance the quality of democracy” (Whitty & Wisby, 2007, p. 5). So, active citizenship is informed by participative behaviours and democratic practices as agents for change rather than passive behaviours such as merely abiding by laws, uncritically following leaders or serving the interests of a particular party or self.

Finally, for such maximal and active views of citizenship to happen, they require the combination of active participation underpinned by strong foundations of knowledge (Parker, 2004; Walter & MacLeod, 2002) such as human rights (Osler & Starkey, 2005a; Starkey, 1992a) and comparative studies such as history (Parker, 2004). Furthermore, education for active citizenship also requires that children initiate activities and collaborate with adults in decision-making (R. Hart, 1997). This illustrates a two-part model of citizenship education where learning content knowledge is a prerequisite for practicing the skills for active citizenship. With the underpinnings of democratic principles, comparative studies and child-initiated activities, active citizenship becomes safeguarded against racist and anti-democratic feelings and behaviours. Furthermore, these combinations ensure changes that result from active citizenship are in line with the aims of citizenship education, such as peace and justice. Therefore, active citizenship, in this thesis, **is the active participation across communities that leads to change based on the principles of humanistic and democratic values.**

When defining citizenship, I highlighted the gender-blindness of Marshall’s framework of citizenship. This demonstrates the continued marginalization and exclusion of women

in concepts of citizenship dating back to Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. In the twenty-first century, gender-based participation and legal statuses in Lebanon continue to challenge the aims and practices of inclusive and democratic citizenship. For those reasons and the illustrations that follow, the significance of gender for active citizenship, according to Lister (1997), is to ensure that practices of citizenship are based on equality **and** differences. In the following review, I briefly explore the discriminations towards women that result from gendered citizenship through the relationship between the individual and the state and in the context of Lebanon.

2.1.4 Gender and citizenship

Earlier, I described citizenship, fundamentally, as the relationship between the individual and the community. J. J. Rousseau (1998 [1762]) defined this relationship as a social contract whereby the social and political contractual bonds between the citizen and the state dictate one's role and responsibilities to the state. However, the gendered nature of this contract is revealed by Pateman (1988) who illustrates the predominant participation of males in the public sphere and the restrictions limiting women to the so-called private spheres of marriage, prostitution and motherhood through the sexual contract. The sexual contract provides a critical perspective in looking at women's inequalities in the political and economic spheres where fewer women participate in government, women's wages are lower than men's and fewer women can be found in senior management positions. The gendering of rights and practices maintained in Pateman's sexual contract also results in the contradictory construction of universalism in citizenship. Lister (1997) argues that the universal and inclusive concepts of citizenship are contradictory since their constructs were based on gender inequalities. This self-contradiction of universalism is based on the "gendered implications" of males having rationale and reason and putting first the public good while females, driven by emotions and irrationality, are concerned mainly with private and domestic affairs (ibid, p. 69). The inequalities that result from sexual differences and gendered insinuations are even more evident and controversial when, as in Lebanon, legal status and laws within the state provide males with more rights than females.

Legislated membership with the state further marginalizes females from political participation and civil rights. In exploring the injustices and inequalities of gendered citizenship in the Middle East [sic], Joseph (1999c) basis her analytical framework on the “legal process” and contracts between the individual and the state (p. 3) since “no actor is more critical to the gendering of citizenship than the state” (p. 7). Meer & Seever (2004), too, present citizenship in terms of a membership between the individual and the state which excludes and marginalizes women from statuses and practices of citizenship. For instance, in South Africa, laws limit the rights of South African black women to “enter contracts or own property” (ibid, p. 39). Also, women in North Africa and the Middle East [sic] do not have the right to “pass on their citizenship” to husbands and children which consequently upholds husbands and children as “foreigners” with no access to health services and difficulties finding work in the public and private sectors (ibid, pp. 32-33). The gendering of citizenship in West Asia and North Africa, and specifically Lebanon, continues to support practices and statuses exclusive to males which contradict the fundamentals of democratic citizenship such as equality and inclusion.

In Lebanon, political participation and access to civil rights, as in many countries, are very male-dominated conceptualizations of citizenship. For instance, Joseph (1999a) maintains that mainly sons have succeeded fathers in political power and argues that it is difficult for a woman to gain political power without connections from male kin. Also, a Lebanese man married to a foreign woman can pass on the legal status to their children while a Lebanese woman married to a foreign man can only do so if her husband dies (ibid). These are some examples of the extent to which women’s rights are culturally and legally second-class in Lebanon’s patriarchal society. Joseph (ibid) explains this by desegregating from the patriarchic model a sub-structure called patrilineality “by which membership and identity in kin groups follows male descent” (p. 302). Hence, Joseph (1999b) describes the struggles of women and children in the Middle East [sic] as a paradox in this age of globalization and human rights.

Still, growing support networks and education research continue to address critical issues of inequality and exclusion of females in society and in school. Women's organizations and women's groups provide support networks and promote ways forward towards safety, equality and inclusion of women at home and in the workplace (Lister, 1997). And while citizenship education aims at promoting inclusion and justice, education research shows that school systems and policies indeed result in the social exclusion of females in schools. In a UK-based study, Osler and Vincent (2003) found that schools' initiatives to protect and nurture the student fail to address the needs of female students resulting in girls' poor academic achievement, high rates of school drop-out and low degrees of self-esteem. Also, the perceived gendered roles of men and women at home and in society by teacher students and teacher trainers in five European countries calls for an essential ethical and gendered approach to citizenship education through a global perspective (Arnot, 2009). The practices of citizenship and education for citizenship continue to undermine inclusion and justice through the marginalization and exclusion of women, especially in the context of this study, Lebanon.

This thesis explores students' conceptualizations of citizenship and teachers' and students' pedagogical experiences inside the civics classroom. These working definitions allow me to interpret their responses. However, within these definitions lie several themes that lead to tensions concerning the meanings and purposes of citizenship and the educational means for active citizenship. These tensions are evident in the Lebanese context when examining the role of education for social cohesion in a context of instability and the extent to which a civics-based curriculum can provide the necessary training for active citizenship. In the following two sections of this chapter, I start by highlighting the powerful influences of education as a mechanism for peace and war. After presenting its roles and contestations for social cohesion, I discuss the importance and limitations of civics as an educational program of study for active citizenship.

2.2 Education for peace and war

Travel, migration, trade and political power have diversified communities everywhere. Moreover, in the past 20 years, information technology further connected people across the world and thus the world, as Friedman (1999) describes it, is getting smaller. Communities are getting more and more diversified mixing together different people from different cultures. However, differences among individuals and cultures may be a source of tension and conflict illustrating the challenges of coping and living with differences. Therefore, citizenship education provides the necessary opportunities to train individuals to prepare for the challenges of diversity and injustices of political, social and economic systems. Furthermore, through citizenship education, individuals learn to feel **unique as well as unified**, and learn to behave fairly, respectfully and democratically. Through citizenship education, individuals learn these feelings and behaviours as skills and attitudes that, in turn, create a sense of community. In other words, citizenship education, as expressed in a report to UNESCO (Delors et al., 1996), is about learning to live together. However, in addition to the necessities of education, its mechanisms have also served as instruments for oppression, injustice and, at times, war. The following two subsections illustrate the beneficial outcomes and dangers of citizenship education.

2.2.1 Education for living together

“Education is at the heart of both personal and community development” (Delors, 1996, p. 19). Delors (1996) argues that education starts with realizing our creative potentials and taking responsibility of ourselves which then enables us to “grasp the individuality of other people” and move the world “towards a certain unity” (p. 19). Furthermore, education exists as a “powerful tool for ideological development”, especially during times of reconstruction (Smith, 2005. p. 376). McKinnon (2007), the Commonwealth Secretary-General, maintains that

Education remains the most effective defence against under-development and poverty, and all their associated ills. It gives us the knowledge, skills and values that are

critical to developing the strategies and the policies that can bring about economic growth and national development (p. vii).

However, Delors (1996) reminds us to avoid approaching education as a magical tool for creating a perfect world; instead, education aims to “**reduce** poverty, exclusion, ignorance, oppression and war” (p. 13, emphasis added by self). Likewise, Gundara (2000) argues that citizenship education creates “thinking citizens who would less likely to seek solutions to conflicts through violence” (p. 24). So, for creating a world with fewer injustices, Delors et al. (1996) lay down four inter-related pillars of knowledge (pp. 86-97):

1. Learning to know – acquiring and mastering instruments of knowledge;
2. Learning to do – skills for communication, conflict resolution and vocational work;
3. Learning to live together/with others – co-operation and participation with others;
4. Learning to be – independent and critical thinking for individual development.

These four pillars of knowledge provide a fundamental framework for formal education systems across countries and cultures. In particular, learning to **live together** summarizes the normative aim of citizenship education while learning to **know**, **do** and **be** stand out as principal means.

Nonetheless, case studies on numerous nations around the world demonstrate how education or, in particular, citizenship education, has provided for social, political and economic development following conflict or social and political change (Banks, 2004; Lee, Grossman, Kerry, & Gregory, 2004; Tawil & Harley, 2004). Thus, education and its aims are dynamic, and citizenship education is continuously being used to meet the demands of the on-going social, political and economic challenges of our world. However, it is still critical to highlight the malleability of education and its potential to result in negative consequences.

2.2.2 Limitations and dangers of education

Whether in developing or developed countries, “simply providing education does not ensure peace” (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 10). Moreover, while education has been promoted as an ideological necessity it has also been cautioned as, quoted once by Antoine Massara, an “ideological arsenal” (Touma, 2003). These statements warn of the adverse potentials of education. Already, it has been used as a weapon in times of conflict and post-conflict. As Tawil explained in an interview with Williams (2004b), education “is related to political violence in both intended and unintended ways” (p. 26). For instance, during times of ethnic conflict, social or ethnic groups are denied schooling or segregated from others or when textbooks, in particular, history books, are manipulated to reinforce stereotypes and prejudices (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, pp. 9-16). So, education can be “manipulated negatively” through:

- “denying access to education to certain groups, or using it to suppress their language and cultural values;
- “segregated education that maintains inequality;
- “the destruction or forced closure of schools;
- “manipulation of textbooks for political purposes; [and]
- “inculcation of attitudes of superiority, for example, in the peoples or nations are described” (S. Williams, 2004b, pp. 26-27).

In addition, Harber (2004) considers four types of violence through education: direct (murder, torture, rape, forced labour, etc.); indirect (lack of protection against poverty, hunger, disease, etc.); repressive (lack of access to human rights and basic freedoms); and alienating (racism, sexism, etc.) (pp. 44-45). Still, many schools in the twenty-first century around the world are designed as authoritarian institutions, as opposed to democratic, which aim at social control and compliance through intended violence (Harber, 2004, 2008). Other ways that education has further demonstrated its potentials leading to inequality, oppression and other injustices include lack of lifelong learning for the adult who has been a casualty of no schooling and the lack of access of schooling to women, minorities and children of low-socioeconomic status.

In the context of Lebanon, the politics of education has challenged education reform for peace and social cohesion. One example of this relates to the internal political tensions that continue to leave schools in Lebanon without a revised history book. Since various sects had disputed over the identities and cultures of Lebanon, schools across the country had used several versions of history books with different interpretations of history. Hence, part of the Ta'if Accord in 1989 strongly recommended education reform, specifying the rewrite and unification of its history and civics textbooks (see Section F5 in Appendix A₇). The project of re-writing the history text books took “six years of discussion and compromise” with academics from numerous sects (S. Williams, 2004a, p. 31). However, the MOE at the time rejected the new texts finding the chapter on the Arab conquest in 636 A.D. to inappropriately portray the Arabs as invaders (Frayha, 2004). Hence, creating a unified history book has been described as a “tortuous task” and “many schools are reported to have given up teaching history altogether”; those that do continue use “manuals that have not been revised for more than 35 years, and which stop at the war for independence in 1943” (S. Williams, 2004a, p. 30). As a result, the MOE in 2004 officially declared the unavailability of a common history book (see Appendix C for official transcript in Arabic). In addition to the internal political conflicts in Lebanon that have put a significant hindrance on the progress of education, the education system also limits, to an extent, access to all children. Nabti (2006) describes the minor fees that public schools charge which certain families find difficulty paying.

Schools and education can be instruments or hostages of war. Thus, complexity lies in how we safeguard education as a tool for progress, development and peace. In Harber's (2008) presentation, the ultimate power lies in the teacher who is the “decisive element” of what happens to the students inside the classroom. This illustrates the complexities of elements beyond the control of policy. However, grounding education systems in universal principles enshrined in instruments such as the UDHR and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), as argued by Harber (2008), “would be a good start”. Indeed, with articles in the UNCRC declaring rights to, through and in education (Verhellen, 2000), education can move into a direction of justice and peace. Starkey (1992b) presents justice and peace as “the central aim of world society” which

are also proclaimed by the European Convention on Human Rights (p. 125). Education, when grounded in humanistic and democratic principles, better safeguards schools and education systems in their central aims for peace and justice. And since each country varies in its own diversities, the aims of citizenship education vary as well. In the context of Lebanon with its fragmented society and internal conflicts and tensions following the 15 years of civil war, education continues to aim for social cohesion.

2.2.3 A vehicle for social cohesion

In exploring education as a vehicle for social cohesion in Lebanon, I first present social cohesion as a paradigm which underpins reconstruction for peace and justice following social conflicts. Green, Preston, & Janmaat (2006) have examined the range of definitions and aims of social cohesion from various literatures on political and social philosophy. Yet, one common view of social cohesion, which also comes forward as a paradox, is that to declare social cohesion as an aim, a society must go through struggle and conflict (ibid). Still, “in different contexts social cohesion may be used to emphasize:

1. shared norms and values;
2. a sense of shared identity or belonging to a common community;
3. a sense of continuity and stability;
4. a society with institutions for sharing risks and providing collective welfare;
5. equitable distribution of rights, opportunities, wealth and income; or
6. a strong civil society and active citizenry” (ibid, p. 5).

Through philosophical discourse, writers and researchers continue their search for a shared understanding of social cohesion. Yet, in presenting social cohesion within the frameworks of education and development in Lebanon, I draw on the Council of Europe’s understanding of social cohesion and Tawil & Harley’s use of the terms in the context of education in post-conflict societies.

In a document on the strategy for social cohesion, the Council of Europe (2004) recognizes social cohesion as the “capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation” (p. 3). Its capacities, which Tawil & Harley (2004) maintain, depend on the background of the conflict, education

system and government policy; and so, social cohesion provides the “governing principle – under which public policy can be constructed and assessed” (p. 10). Hence, post-conflict societies use social cohesion as a framework to inform education policy in attempts to secure peace, promote inclusion and minimise exclusion, violence and corruption. However, Lebanon continues to shift between armed conflicts and post-conflict statuses. In the following argument, I illustrate how such shifts consequently challenge the role of social cohesion in education.

Societies emerging out of armed conflict find their social communities divided and in constant tension. Tawil and Harley (2004) identify three education initiatives for five types of conflict statuses (see Table 2.1). As highlighted in the table by the authors, the function of “social and civic reconstruction” represents the umbrella concept for social cohesion as education policy for societies transitioning out of conflict into post-conflict status (ibid, pp. 10-11). In the case of Lebanon, however, the conflicts and tensions from its state of political confessionalism continue to shift the country back and forth across the latter three: armed conflict, transition and post-conflict. Thus, the roles and aims of social cohesion in education in Lebanon remain in a state of fragility since its education system intends to create a sense of community while the state of the nation keeps transitioning in and out of armed conflict status. Despite this apparent state of a gridlocked social and political sphere, its general aims of education in the national curriculum still demonstrate initiatives for prevention and active participation by recognizing a dual Lebanese-Arab identity, commitments to the constitution and the UDHR, the mastery of dialogic communication, preservation of the environment and appreciation of the cultural arts. In the specifically designed *National and Civic Education* program of study, I describe its importance and limitations as an educational subject for active citizenship.

Table 2.1 Conflict status and educational initiatives

Conflict Status	Nonconflict; relative "peace"	Internal trouble; social unrest; "pre-conflict"	Armed conflict	Transition out of violence; peace process	"Post-" conflict
Type of educational initiative	Education for prevention (development)		Education in emergencies		Education for social and civic reconstruction

Taken from Tawil and Harley (2004, p. 11).

2.3 Civic education as an approach to citizenship

In the Lebanese curriculum, the subject for teaching citizenship is titled *National and Civic Education*. Other countries such as Mexico, Indonesia, the United States, Canada and Hong Kong have also incorporated the term “civics” into their curriculum. These countries use civic education as a vehicle for national development since, according to Cogan, Morris & Print (2002), civic education plays an important role in teaching the civic values “necessary for social cohesion” (p. 3). However, as I argue below, civic education provides a minimalist framework in an educational program for active citizenship. This argument identifies civics as a component of citizenship education that focuses on content knowledge primarily for the national community. Thus, civics limits the capacities of developing the skills and attitudes for active citizenship, or knowledge-informed active participation for diversity in a diverse and globalized world.

In understanding the relationships between citizenship education and civic education, I first establish a working definition for citizenship education and present it in the formal curriculum as a cross-curricular theme and as an umbrella for specialized programs of study.

2.3.1 Citizenship education through themes and subjects

“Any conception of citizenship education obviously depends upon a prior conception of citizenship” (Cogan et al., 2002, p. 4). At the start of the chapter, a working definition

presented citizenship as the feelings and behaviours in the two-way relationship between individuals and communities. And active citizenship referred to participation for change across communities based on a foundation of content-knowledge and universalistic principles for change. Thus, citizenship education is **the teaching and learning of content knowledge and practice for active participation across cultural, national, regional and global levels grounded in democratic and humanistic principles**. Through this definition, I explore the educational areas that civics addresses and analyze the teachers' and students' experiences inside the Lebanese civics classroom. So, the following presents citizenship education in its most common forms in formal education, as a cross-curricular theme and as separate subjects.

Citizenship as a cross-curricular theme

Citizenship education can provide an overarching curricular framework for inclusion, diversity and environmental sustainability across the school curriculum. According to Whitty, Aggleton & Rowe (1996), this framework promotes citizenship as a theme which is better incorporated as a whole-school approach embedded into the school culture and cross-curricular activities of teaching and learning. Furthermore, citizenship can be taught through a variety of themes such as human rights, environment, anti-racism and equality in programs of study across the curriculum such as science (Leach & Scoones, 2003; Ratcliffe & Grace, 2003), language arts (Bazilache, Dhorsan, & Tembe, 2004; Osler & Starkey, 2005c), music (Ho, 2003), art (Carr, 2004) and mathematics (Ernest, 1988). In Lebanon, Nabti (2006) promotes CARE²⁵ as a theme of citizenship which includes volunteering and incorporating social and environmental issues and concerns through teaching and learning activities inside and outside the classroom. However, teaching and learning for citizenship has also been designed through specific subjects focusing primarily on social, political and moral issues across various levels of communities.

²⁵ CARE is an acronym for Capable, Available, Reliable and Engaged.

Citizenship education through separate subjects

This second educational approach presents a branch of several subjects specifically designed for learning particular elements of citizenship. I illustrate this model by comparing citizenship education with science and math where science branches into chemistry, physics, biology, etc. and math separates into algebra, geometry, calculus, etc. Similarly, citizenship education comprises single-subject disciplines. In the countries affiliated with the Council of Europe, over 30 school subjects are designed for students to learn education for democratic citizenship (Bîrzéa, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2005b). Some of the subjects listed include *civics*, *history*, *social studies*, *life skills*, *democracy and human rights*, *religious and moral education* and *political education*. Each of these subjects focuses on various specific functions of citizenship including participation in the political, social and moral spheres. There are, however, initiatives in attempting to coordinate these functions into *citizenship education* as a holistic school subject in its own right such as the case in the United Kingdom (UK). In Lebanon, education for citizenship is taught through the school subject *National and Civic Education*. It is through this school subject that the Lebanese MOE and the Ta'if Accord aim at promoting active citizenship for social cohesion in Lebanon. Thus, before analyzing the complexities of civic education for citizenship, we need to understand civics as a critical component of citizenship education in a post-conflict society like Lebanon.

2.3.2 Understanding civics

Civic education, or civics, addresses a critical portion of the intended outcomes of citizenship education. Historically, the “most common motive” behind civics has been “to sustain national pride” for national cohesion (Heater, 2004a, p. 111). So, for the national context, civic education provides the political knowledge necessary to participate in the political systems which includes factual knowledge, political attitudes and participation such as decision-making (Niemi & Junn, 1998). Although civic education has traditionally been known to focus on the content knowledge of government, law, constitutions, rights and responsibilities (Cogan et al., 2002; Pratte, 1988), its aims also

extend to skills and values. So, Cogan et al. (2002) emphasize civics as a “process of schooling” where students learn knowledge (systems of government, rights, law), skills (critical reflection, cooperation) and values (democracy, human rights, environmental sustainability) (p. 4). These elements of knowledge, attitudes and skills are also found in the understandings and curriculum of civics in Lebanon and its region.

In a conference in Jordan, Darwish (2002) discussed principles of civic education which include democratic values, integration of civic life inside and outside the school, the promotion of “participation and belonging of students” rather than “promoting a specific political system” (p. 12) and “oppos[ing] military methods” (p. 13). While this understanding of civics may not relate to the traditional view of content knowledge, it still illustrates its conception as a critical tool for national development. Still, in a more conventional sense, Frayha (2008) portrays the Lebanese civics curriculum as one for national and civic education. It aims “to present information to the students about their civil society in which they live” with particular attention to “governmental institutions” and the individuals’ “positions in relation to them” through which students “gain morals and values” for effective participation (Frayha, 2006, p. 28). In addition political education is an integral element of civics which “concentrates on the national feelings” and provides “knowledge about their rights and duties towards their country and its institutions” (ibid, p. 28). Thus, through formal education, civics deals with both social and institutional education (Frayha, 2008). In the Lebanese national curriculum, civics explicitly aims for knowledge of government, law and the constitution and skills for dialogue, being critical and preserving the environment with a development of values for democracy, human rights, culture and the arts and the Lebanese and Arab identities (Ministry of Education, 1997).²⁶ Therefore, we can understand civics as **an educational subject for citizenship and social cohesion at the national level through the learning of laws, rights, responsibilities and identities grounded in morals and values necessary for participation with *in loco* political systems**. The educational aims of

²⁶ See Massara (2002) on how human rights have incorporated human values, democratic values and work ethics in the civics curriculum for secondary education in Lebanon.

civics suggest that civic education is intended to promote social cohesion in Lebanon. However, civics still has limitations in its teaching and learning for active citizenship.

2.3.3 Limitations of civics for active citizenship

Earlier in the chapter, I described “active citizenship” as a maximal notion of citizenship which involves active participation as an agent for change made available for communities at numerous levels. Furthermore, it results from the combination of practice and foundations of knowledge grounded in humanistic and democratic principles. Civics, however, has been viewed as a minimal approach to learning citizenship that, more typically, informs passive behaviours.

Osler & Starkey, Kerr and DeJaeghere have illustrated civics as a minimalist school subject based on McLaughlin’s (1992) continuum of minimal and maximal notions of citizenship. Osler and Starkey (2005b) define civic education as a “school subject that addresses, at a minimal level, knowledge and information about government and political institutions” (p. 68). At a more maximal level, citizenship education has a “broader meaning and encompass[es] skills and attitudes for participation” in addition to the “knowledge necessary for citizenship” (ibid, p. 68). Kerr (2000), too, uses the maximal/minimal paradigm to distinguish between civics as a narrow curriculum and citizenship education as a broader concept. Furthermore, Kerr (ibid) makes a distinction between their pedagogies whereby formal teaching provides for a minimal civic education while more practical and active learning for citizenship education. This, however, can be arguable since learning civil laws and the civil life can also be active and participative (Niemi & Junn, 1998). Still, “minimal forms of citizenship” such as the learning of content knowledge such as rights, responsibilities, values and skills, “promote the ‘good’ citizen, who is law-abiding, works hard and possesses a good character” (DeJaeghere, 2007, p. 295). These attributes, though, are similar to those presented earlier in Lawton’s description of passive citizenship. Also, in the modern world of “global and local transformation”, “we cannot rely on a good secondary school-level civics course to sustain lifelong democratic citizenship” (Stevick & Levinson, 2007, p. 7). Hence,

considerations of the extent to which civics prepares the students as agents for change across communities in addition to the national level still conceptualizes civics as a minimal approach challenging education for active citizenship.

Consequently, in the context of Lebanon, civics alone can limit the development of identities and skills for active participation when it primarily addresses political participation at the national level. “Civic education construed as national loyalty is a too-limited vision” which often leads to “narrow-minded xenophobia” and thus obscures the progress of “democratic values or the public good” (Pratte, 1988, p. 8). Even Frayha (2006) recognizes the need for a supplement to civics and, thus, suggests global citizenship education “to tackle egocentrism which pushes some people to national extremism” (p. 29). And, so, through “cultural historical projects” of other civilizations, we can “lessen the negative nationalism” and show that “all people belong to this planet and accept each other and live in peace” (ibid, p. 29). For these reasons, citizenship is changing towards a cosmopolitan framework grounded in universalism, as a starting block for other levels of citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2005a). Thus, education development has made attempts to extend civic education beyond the traditional approach of knowing basic information for citizenship at the national level. The following section presents an approach that theoretically considers the shift of civics towards a maximal level of citizenship education.

2.3.4 Considerations of a maximal civics curriculum

The civics curriculum that focuses on the content knowledge of government, law, constitutions, rights and responsibilities is regarded as a traditional approach to citizenship education (Cogan et al., 2002; Pratte, 1988). Thus, one approach in promoting a maximal level in civics involves restructuring the current curriculum into one **more encompassing and broader** yet responsive to the changes of the context. For instance, in the context of Chile, Cox (2005) discusses the curricular shift in the 1990s from civic education to citizenship education. Here, civics focused on “political institutionality” and was oriented on the acquisition of content knowledge while citizenship education

extended further to “actual social problems” and involved skills and attitudes in addition to content knowledge (ibid, p. 91). Hence, curricular reform in Chile for citizenship education tackled the traditional concept of civics of content knowledge by replacing it with a consensually defined term and curriculum for citizenship education. In Canada, a similar form of restructuring took place replacing the national civic curriculum with a broader subject matter, peace education (Fast, 1994). Furthermore, traditional pedagogies associated with civics have also been motivations for restructuring. In the context of Australia, DeJaeghere (2007) critiques civics’ outcomes of “understanding” as minimalist as opposed to practices of critical analysis and the devising of strategies and resolutions in citizenship education. Mexico, too, restructured its social studies subject to “Civic and Ethical Formation” emphasizing “student-centred pedagogy and critical thinking” (Levinson, 2007, p. 246). These examples do not necessarily intend to promote the term “citizenship” as a school subject. Instead, this argument illustrates the necessary considerations of building on the traditional notion of civics to a more critical, student-centred, participative and global approach to citizenship education.

Lebanon has, to an extent, integrated participative and global themes into its civics curricula. However, environmental sustainability, work ethics, political institutions, government systems, appreciation of culture and history and the development of Arab and Lebanese identity still remain within the national sphere. Furthermore, the Lebanese civics curriculum remains critical at the national level for the main purpose of promoting social cohesion in the country’s state of sectarian tensions and divisions. Thus, considerations of restructuring *National and Civic Education* lead to two main tensions.

National and Civic Education in Lebanon aims at reinforcing the Lebanese and Arab identities through knowledge, skills and values for social cohesion. Thus, emphasizing a cosmopolitan approach to citizenship could threaten social, political and education agendas for living together in Lebanon by deemphasizing the significance of a unified national identity. Heater (2004b) noted a similar tension during the rise of German nationalism in the early twentieth century when a “cosmopolitan strain in civic education would weaken the desired patriotic effect” (p. 49). Civics, though, in Lebanon has, to an

extent, shown values for levels outside its political borders with regards to an Arab identity and maintaining French and English as languages in its national curriculum. However, the growing diversities of a globalized world has increasingly called for a cosmopolitan approach to citizenship education (Osler & Starkey, 2005a). And while a cosmopolitan approach promotes values common to civics such as human rights, democracy and equality and helps in the prevention of extreme nationalism, the emphasis of a broader, cosmopolitan citizenship over a national civic education could be perceived as devaluing the internal struggles of Lebanon's social and political spheres. The second tension in restructuring a national and civic education curriculum relates to the civics timetable allocated in the school system. The civics book and program of study are designed for 30 hours per school year, or one hour per week. So, in addition to ideological resistances of a cosmopolitan approach to citizenship education, further resistance may be encountered by curriculum developers, government exam writers, parents and school teachers.

Here, I have presented civics as a component of citizenship education. And through civics' focus on content knowledge, it motivates and prepares the student for political and social participation at the national level – a level that provides a common ground for social cohesion. However, several limitations and tensions arise in the Lebanese context. Its emphasis on content knowledge potentially limits opportunities for critical thinking and democratic practices in dealing with the troubles of confessional pluralism. Also, extending the aims of a national and civic education curriculum to a wider, global one may generate resistance and reinforce polarizations within the country. Further resistance and controversies may arise when replacing national themes with a cosmopolitan agenda when only one hour per week is allocated for civics in the curriculum's timetable.

Still, civic education in Lebanon prevails as a vehicle for social cohesion. Its curriculum reform in 1997 was motivated by the Ta'if Accord following the 15-year civil war. Thus, it has embedded in its aims values for democracy and human rights, skills for dialogue and the knowledge of its government and political systems. While it focuses on content knowledge and skills for democratic participation, questions arise on the extent to which

it promotes learning citizenship inside the classroom. Classroom experiences of teaching and learning are the core investigations in this thesis on civic education in Lebanon. The next chapter explores approaches to teaching and learning focusing on the controversial pedagogy of memorization and its traditions in West Asia and North Africa. The frameworks and tensions discussed in the next chapter provide the necessary background to investigating the difficulties and good practices teachers go through when teaching civics and the challenges and positive experiences students encounter when learning civics in Lebanon.

Chapter 3

Teaching and Learning for Citizenship

In this chapter, I focus on memorization as a controversial practice of teaching and learning, its contention in citizenship education and its historical and political underpinnings in West Asia and North Africa. In the 1990s, Lebanon underwent major educational reform which led to the latest revised edition of the national curriculum in 1997 (cf Ministry of Education, 1997). The changes aimed at promoting student-centred instruction “whereby learners are involved in and are held accountable for their own learning” and, in assessment, a shift from testing that “encouraged rote learning” to evaluation as a “continuous process that is closely intertwined with instruction” (BouJaoude & Ghaith, 2006). However, the new civics curriculum still showed weaknesses as being idealistic (Acra, 2003) and still followed teacher-centred learning activities such as presenting and theorizing lessons with insufficient activities for active learning (Zoreik, 2000). In addition, initial studies show that memorization still dominates in Lebanon’s civics classrooms (Akar, 2007; Shuayb, 2005a). Memorization has also emerged as a contested pedagogical practice of citizenship learning in other identity-based post-conflict societies such as Croatia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda (Weinstein, Freedman, & Hughson, 2007). In this chapter, I critically examine the functions of memorization and rote learning in education and, particularly, for participatory and democratic citizenship. The frameworks that I present and issues that emerge in this review provide the cultural backgrounds and conceptual frameworks necessary to explore the challenges of teaching and learning civics in Lebanon.

3.1 Memorization

I explore memorization for citizenship education through two approaches. First, I demonstrate the contestations of memorization by drawing on the principles and practices of learning found in concepts and models presented by Marton & Säljö, Watkins, Carnell & Lodge, Biggs & Moore, Mayer, Bentham and Freire. Through them, we see how traditions and strategies of memorization lead to passive and submissive learners for the

short-term purpose of recalling content knowledge. Through the second approach, I describe the traditions of memorization in West Asia and North Africa by showing how its religious and political cultures have embedded memorization as a common practice in classrooms. Through these two approaches, I demonstrate the controversy of memorization as a tool that impedes learning for active citizenship, a strategy that promotes recall and as a deep-rooted cultural tradition in education in Lebanon and the surrounding region.

3.1.1 Memorization for rote and passive learning

Conceptions of learning guide the processes of teaching and learning (Biggs & Moore, 1993). While conceptions vary, such as the six conceptions²⁷ constructed from 29 university students in Britain (Marton et al., 1993), Biggs & Moore (1993) present their understandings of learning through, what they claim as, the two most common conceptions – quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative traditions of teaching and learning focus on the knowledge of facts and **knowing more is better**, typically through memorization, and qualitative approaches view learning as the **understanding of content** through a constructivist view of learning (Biggs & Moore, 1993). Although Biggs & Moore (ibid) describe how quantitative learning is part of the overall learning process, they still view that “the problem occurs when you just stop at the facts” since students then recall with little or no understanding (p. 21). To understand memorization further and its impacts on learning, I discuss the contrasts between surface and deep approaches to learning and rote and meaningful learning. Also, from a behaviourist approach, I illustrate how memorization conditions students into being passive learners and, thus, argue its limitations for learning active citizenship.

²⁷ The six conceptions are: gaining more knowledge, memorizing and reproducing, applying, understanding, seeing something in a different way, changing as a person (Marton, Dall'Alba, & Beaty, 1993, pp. 283-294).

Surface and deep approaches

In the late 1970s, a study in Western Europe on students' understandings of their own learning showed how their intentions led to surface and deep approaches to learning (cf Marton & Säljö, 1976a, 1976b). In the "surface-level" process, the student "has a 'reproductive' conception of learning" leaving the student to "keep to a rote-learning strategy" (Marton & Säljö, 1976a, p. 7). Moreover, the surface approach aims at meeting requirements during assessment by reproducing information typically through memorization (Biggs, 2003). Surface approaches such as rote learning are not only common but also reveal **very little understanding** and **poor retention** when discussing the material (Gibbs, 1992). Thus, for the purpose of testing and summative assessment, students resort to surface approaches to learning by adopting strategies of memorization to reproduce material which result in rote learning – temporary recall with minimal understanding.

At the same time, deep-level processing related to students' intentions "towards comprehending...a certain scientific problem or principle" (Marton & Säljö, 1976a, p. 8) reveals a "greater concern for the meaning of the discourse they were dealing with" (Säljö, 1982, p. 51) and shows higher retention (Marton & Säljö, 1976b). Moreover, intentions for comprehension, knowledge construction or meaningful learning are informed by constructive and reflective activities. Students adopt deep approaches to learning when constructing knowledge based on previously existing knowledge (Biggs, 2003). Also, according to Brown (1997), reflection gives students insight to "learn intentionally" (p. 400). Through reflection, students engage in meta-learning – an element of effective learning – where learners gain an understanding of their own learning with regards to content and process (Watkins, Carnell, Lodge, Wagner, & Whalley, 2001). So, when students have a purpose of constructing knowledge and have an understanding of their own learning, they take a deeper and more effective approach to learning which contrasts with memorization for recall.

Rote versus meaningful learning

Through rote learning, students add new information to their “store of knowledge” without any interaction or connection with “what is already there” (Stevenson & Palmer, 1994, p. 166). Some of its learning strategies include rote memorization and rehearsal. Rote memorization is a “mode of learning” which involves “repetitive drill” and described as a “last-resort, inefficient strategy adopted in those few cases when meaning and natural organizing factors are absent” (Bower & Hilgard, 1981, p. 317). Through rehearsal, students have no relationship with the material and intend to **reproduce it with accuracy, though without understanding** (Biggs & Moore, 1993). And since its main purpose is for recall, this knowledge cannot be used to solve new problems (Mayer, 2002). Therefore, rote learning occurs through repetitive drills and results in accurate reproduction though without understanding, a contrast to meaningful learning.

Meaningful learning involves the construction of knowledge using previous experiences which can be transferred to solve new problems (Mayer, 2002; Stevenson & Palmer, 1994). This is closely related to the concept of effective learning. Effective learning emphasizes on activities of “*making* meaning” which, in addition to construction and self-reflection of knowledge, it also involves collaboration (co-construction) and reflection **on** the learning process to monitor and review one’s learning (Watkins, Carnell, & Lodge, 2007, p. 19). Thus, on a learning continuum, strategies of memorization such as drilling, rehearsal and repetition, result in rote learning for the purpose of recall. Though, when strategies of construction, collaboration and reflection take place, learning becomes more meaningful and effective for constructing meaning and transferring content and learning skills across other problem-solving contexts. Furthermore, Watkins (2005) demonstrates how these activities of collaboration and reflection also lead to the creation of learning communities inside the classroom. Such a sense of community could enhance an individual and collective sense of agency; promote a sense of belonging from which students would feel “respect, acceptance, inclusion and support”; develop a level of cohesion sufficient for “joint action”; and develop the “ability to embrace difference and to view diversity positively” (ibid, pp. 32-33). So, if

schools serve as micro-communities for the socialization of individuals for democratic citizenship in larger societies as described by Dewey (1929, 1944 [1916]), then rote learning and memorization, which are not conducive to the development of a sense of community inside the classroom, could indeed encourage a sense of individualism, barriers to cohesion and resistance to understanding differences in contexts of diversity outside the classroom.

Conditioned learning

Teachers can also use memorization to condition desired learning outcomes which conditions students into passive learners. Practices of memorization have largely influenced Skinner's behaviourist approach to learning in classrooms as mechanisms for conditioning desired learning outcomes. Through operant conditioning, by increasing or decreasing the probability of a particular behaviour through reinforcements (Skinner, 1966), "wrong answers" are ignored so that they can be extinguished (Hunt & Sullivan, 1974). Hence, students react to external stimuli by learning through repetition, memorization and habit formation increasing the likelihood of repetition through reinforcements (Semonsky & Spielberger, 2004).²⁸ Modern educational psychologists describe this behaviourist perspective in learning as mechanical (Hunt & Sullivan, 1974) and traditional which "sees individuals as robotic slaves to the environmental consequences of their actions" (Bentham, 2002, p. 25). Therefore, memorization, in the behaviourist approach, conditions desired skills and behaviours also creating a passive learner with virtually no opportunities to develop skills to apply knowledge and understand their own learning.

Passive learning

While active learning encourages learner responsibility, memorization or receiving knowledge straight from a teacher risks the development of passive and submissive learners as mere recipients, uncritical of forthcoming knowledge. In Carnell & Lodge's

²⁸ For more, see *Verbal Behavior* (Skinner, 1957) and verbal repertoire in Skinner (1966, pp. 405-411).

(2002) presentation of three models of learning, the reception model illustrates the learner as an objective receiver of transmitted knowledge consequently creating a sense of **learner dependency** towards the teacher. Also, passive learners in the reception model do not learn to be critical, do not have the opportunities to learn about their learning to also apply to other contexts and, thus, find difficulty in transferring what they have learned (ibid). Instead, they become receivers, dependent on the instructions of the teacher. They also risk becoming socialized into submissive learners and individuals. In social environments much larger than the classroom, Paulo Freire (1970) illustrates the uncritical reception of information through a concept of **banking**, an educational process of oppression. Through banking, the teacher narrates information to the students who “receive, memorize and repeat” it (ibid, p. 53). Thus, the teacher ends up depositing, or banking, the information into the students who turn into “containers” or “receptacles” receiving “lifeless” and “motionless” realities who then lack “creativity, transformation and knowledge” (ibid, pp. 52-53). Hence, through the reception model, memorization for learning neither encourages critical thinking nor develops the ability to transfer learning skills and, consequently, leads to the development of a passive learner in the classroom. Moreover, in the social and political spheres, leaders threatened by the power of the people use memorization as a tool for repeating narratives creating passive learners and submissive citizens as argued by Freire (ibid). Such **politics of memorization** are also evident in findings from education research in modern, post-conflict societies – contexts similar to Lebanon.

A recent study on education systems in post-conflict societies found that teachers and governments tend to view active learning as a threat to the welfare of the classroom and to government agendas. In Rwanda, classroom teaching is “dominated by lectures and rote learning” since the thought of discussions and debates “evokes fears of new conflicts emerging” and, as some teachers mentioned, poses as a “threat to government control” since “critical thinking runs the risk of fostering perspectives that may differ from government policy” (Weinstein et al., 2007, pp. 64-65). Similarly, in Croatia, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the “Communist era left a legacy of passive acquiescence to government doctrine” where “concepts of learning are highly formalized and schools are

not perceived as a forum for social and political discussion” (ibid, p. 64). The findings from these case studies suggest a resistance to dialogic learning activities from teachers in fear of conflicts among students in the classroom and from governments in fear of education backfiring by having students engage in critical thinking against the government.

Memorization and education for democracy

From these various approaches, memorization can be understood as a **strategy of learning for the purpose of recalling information**. The literature suggests that when students intend to recall information to pass exams, they adopt surface approaches such as repetitive drilling and rehearsal which can increase the accuracy of reproducing content material. However, this also results in short retention and minimal understanding. Furthermore, rote learning does not require pre-existing knowledge, collaboration or self-reflection. Instead, the activity is passive and individualistic in the sense that it does not necessitate engagement with others. Moreover, practices of memorization also potentially condition children into being passive learners and, outside the classroom, passive participants uncritical and submissive to the systems of the political and social spheres. Hence, memorization conflicts with the fundamental aims of education for democracy which, according to Dewey (1938; , 1959 [1897]) and Freire (1970; , 1989), require people to **learn from each other**. In other words, learning democracy requires a democratic pedagogy that involves participation, dialogue, critical thinking and collaboration. Still, the challenges of promoting these democratic pedagogies are evident and, to an extent, typical in post-conflict societies (Weinstein et al., 2007).

So far, I have presented the limitations of memorization in education for citizenship through cognitive and behaviourist approaches. Since this research focuses on civics learning in the context of Lebanon, I present an additional perspective which portrays memorization as a pedagogical tradition in the cultural and political spheres of West Asia and North Africa. Traditions of Islam and Arab nationalism have grounded memorization as a tool for control and, consequently, common practice.

3.2 Approaches to teaching and learning in West Asia and North Africa

The learning conceptions I have just discussed derived from education and social science research in Western Europe and North America. In West Asia and North Africa, practices and observations from early Islamic traditions and the political movements of the Ottoman Empire and national reform played stronger roles in the conceptualizations of learning than did scientific research. Hence, in the next two sub-sections, I present a brief historical description of the critical pedagogies that arose in these two periods which still influence teaching and learning in modern-day classrooms.

The first period, which I soon examine, too place between the late seventh to thirteenth centuries. Some refer to this period as the Arab enlightenment (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983), the classical period (Khalidi, 1985) or the golden age of Islam (Al-Djazairi, 2006; Lombard, 1975). While the region was an education stronghold dating back to 3,000 B.C. (cf Hitti, 1967, pp. 213-227), knowledge-building also thrived during the golden age of Islamic civilization. This age of scholarship, culture and trade led to the rise of universities, libraries and research institutions in Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Palestine, Cordoba and Sicily (Al-Djazairi, 2006). Moreover, the pedagogies of religious education at the start of the era grounded the foundations of learning (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983) from which “early Muslim scholars” had “originated many psychological theories and practices prevalent today” (Haque, 2004, p. 360). However, Mongul invasions in the 13th century that had destroyed Baghdad, libraries and institutions and, arguably, the rise of al-Ghazālī’s Islamic orthodoxy countering scientific and rational thought in the 11th century, led to the age of decline of Islamic civilization (Saliba, 2007). And while Al-Dijazairi (2006) maintains that the Ottoman Empire saved the “Muslim realm from total collapse” (p. 7), others argue that the administrative regimes of the Ottoman Empire in the 14th century closed the doors to the West (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983) including “the closing of *ijtihad*” or free interpretation (Haque, 2004, p. 359). Still, the golden age of Islamic civilization gave rise to an age of scholarship where religious texts promoted

memorization while values for knowledge and learning developed pedagogies of dialogue and discussions.

The second period of history, which I subsequently discuss, that significantly contributed to the region's traditions of teaching and learning took place close the end of the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century. Here, nation formation and reformation after colonial rule strengthened traditions of memorization and rote learning. Moreover, the political agendas of these movements reinforced rote learning for government exams and resulted in the loss of skilled teachers following colonial rule. Through the events of these two periods in the region's history, I show how memorization is deeply embedded into the religious traditions and political agendas in West Asia and North Africa. Furthermore, this provides a necessary backdrop in exploring the challenges of teaching and learning civics in Lebanon for social cohesion and democracy within a culture-based pedagogy of memorization.

3.2.1 Early Islamic traditions and pedagogy

Islam, starting in the late seventh century, reinforced values for knowledge and education. Indeed, Islam brought forth “two very essential principles of modern education”: lifelong learning and the “democratization of education by making it available to men and women equally” (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983, p. 9). Although, in practice, “some so-called Muslim communities have been known to forbid their female populace from schooling or have access to certain fields of knowledge”, this remains the exception in many other modern societies (Kamis & Muhammad, 2007, pp. 36-37; cf Tibi, 2004). Also, in *hadīth*, or the collected writings on the Prophet's life, Prophet Muhammad^{PBH} said to “seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave” and “search for it even if you are to go to China” (see Faruqi, 1998, p. 92; Leaman, 1996, p. 314). Not only did the Prophet speak of ignorance as sin, but also declared seeking knowledge as a “religious duty” for all Muslims, men and women (Mohammed, 2005, p. 246). Furthermore, learning was not only for religious purposes. It also aimed at keeping the community together. Education helped “sustain [the community] as a whole” (Zuberi,

1992, p. 69) and learning was for “communal interests” (Kamis & Muhammad, 2007, p. 28). Through these values came pedagogical practices ranging from deep to surface approaches which we still see in modern-day classrooms.

Memorization and knowledge circles

Memorization has been a common pedagogy in religious traditions. Rote recitations of religious prayers and scripts was an important part of Torah reading in Judaism (Kolatch, 2006, p. 565), reciting the Bible in Christianity (Graham, 1987, pp. 130-132) and the Qur’ān (Graham, 1987, pp. 102-105). In Islam, Muslims would meet in mosques “to study and memorize” the Qur’ān (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983, p. 9). However, educators in the early years of Islam soon sought other necessary ways of learning. “Realizing the shortcomings of **repetition and memorization**”, a new approach emerged “based on **discussion and interaction** among the learners and their peers and teachers” which would make learning “more meaningful and would raise the level of understanding” (ibid, p. 13, emphasis added by self). This led to the rise of discussion groups known as circles or *halaqāt* (ibid). Discussion groups also led to a culture of dialogue forming a *munāzarah*, or as Sadiki (2004) describes it, a forum of intellectuals during the Muslim enlightenment that practiced the value of knowledge-seeking across other cultures. As memorization and knowledge circles emerged from early teaching and learning inside mosques, modeling the life of the Prophet also influenced teaching and learning.

Role modeling and reflection

In early Islamic education, the lifestyle, practices and sayings of the Prophet served as model behaviours. These practices or the path of the Prophet, known as *Sunna*, were recorded in text form known as *hadīth* (Lapidus, 2002). Through the *hadīth*, “Muslims learn how to live their life by imitating how the prophet reportedly conducted his life” such as religious rituals like the pilgrimage to Mecca (Kamis & Muhammad, 2007, p. 32). In addition, reflection too became another practice of learning. Indeed, numerous verses in the Qur’ān ask individuals to “travel the world so they can better reflect on their

actions” (Kamis & Muhammad, 2007)²⁹. Since reflection and interpretation promote critical thinking in “dedogmatized reason” (Hankiss, 2004, p. 201), they, too, become contested pedagogical practices; particularly in the debate between reason and spirituality (cf Khātami, 2000). Still, these four practices – memorization, knowledge circles, the modeling of the Prophet and reflection – were observed in teaching and learning during the early schoolings of Islamic education.

Religious practices in Christianity, Islam and Judaism used memorization for the rote learning of religious doctrines. In addition, during the golden age of Islamic civilization, learners engaged in other practices such as debates and discussions intended for lifelong learning, collaboratively developing intellectual thought. Lastly, in investigating memorization for learning during this period, I present Ibn Khaldūn’s principles of learning at the time. Although models of learning *per se* did not emerge, Ibn Khaldūn rejects memorization and argues for active practices of learning for the purposes of attaining the highest degree of intellect and for the development of skills necessary for practice and participation.

Ibn Khaldūn’s constructive, experiential and reflective learning

In the 14th century, historical accounts of Ibn Khaldūn, a sociologist and historian at the time, depict orientations of citizenship through group feelings such as solidarity cultured through social organizations.³⁰ Ibn Khaldūn (2005 [1370]) argued that citizenship was based on the relationships with families, tribes, neighbors and allies which results from our natural “ability to think” which “distinguishes [human beings] from all the other animals” (p. 333). And, through this ability, humans make sense of their **perceptions** and **experiences** (ibid). Ibn Khaldūn (ibid) found that from our perceptions, we learn to seek

²⁹ Kamis & Muhammad (2007) make reference to verses 3:137 and 6:11. For more, see verses 2:266, 16:44, 16:69, 34:46 and 38:29.

³⁰ Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) has been noted as “the greatest figure in the Social Sciences between...Aristotle and Machiavelli” (Issawi, 1987, p. 2). His most famous work, the *Muqaddimah*, literally ‘The Introduction’ but translated into the ‘Prolegomena’, is the first of seven volumes of world history titled *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*.

or reject necessities for survival and through experiences we develop the behaviours required for interaction such as mutual affection, support, aid and cooperation.

Ibn Khaldūn (2005 [1370]) described how observations and experiences lead to three degrees of intellect: “discerning”, “experimental” and “speculative” (pp. 333-334). In the first degree, humans obtain what is useful and reject what is harmful based on perceptions. In the second, humans develop behaviours necessary for interaction learned through experience. And, in the highest degree, speculative intellect combines perceptions and experiences for knowledge beyond activity and observations such as philosophy and existentialism. As part of the cognitive practices in processing these observations and experiences, Ibn Khaldūn rejected learning through memorization. Instead, he emphasized learning through habituation as a process “different from understanding and knowing by memory” (ibid, p. 340) for the acquisition of skills. In addition, the mastery of skills through scientific habit requires the expressing of “oneself clearly in discussing and disputing scientific problems” (ibid, p. 341). Here, the emphasis on habit shows evidence of Aristotle’s influence on Ibn Khaldūn.³¹ In summary, the learning processes understood by Ibn Khaldūn, require previous experiences from which to reflect on and then the opportunities to practice for which to further experience and habituate through. Memorization, though, would limit the capacities to learn through practice. So, through these reflective and constructive thought processes and practices, humans learn the skills and attitudes necessary for participation and solidarity.

Through religious education in West Asia and North Africa, in this case, Islamic schooling, educators in the Golden Age taught through memorization, discussion circles and practices of the cultural lifestyle. These pedagogies further developed theories of learning that identified notions of short-term learning through memorization and more effective learning through habituation and discussions. However, the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the 1500s soon brought change to teaching and learning inside the classroom.

³¹ In *The Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn (2005 [1370]) refers to Aristotle as the “greatest Greek scientist” and noted others’ reference to him as “the First Teacher” (p. 373). Furthermore, Aristotle spoke of habituation as a means of moral development (Kristjánsson, 2007, pp. 33-35) and political participation (Kazamias, 2004) for citizenship learning.

3.2.2 National development, curriculum and classroom pedagogy

Following the decline of the Arab enlightenment, numerous factors contributed to the traditions of memorization in the region and, specifically, Lebanon. Many of these influences came from political movements including the Ottoman Empire, French and British mandates and post-colonial nation formation and reformation. Consequently, these traditions of “rote learning and the mere memorization of information has been, and still is, the strategy underlying the methodology of the pedagogical system in Arab-Muslim countries” (Hankiss, 2004, p. 201). So, I present two critical instances which replaced practices of active learning in the aforementioned era with traditions of memorization. First, I discuss the influence of the Ottoman’s systems of bureaucracy in creating orthodox approaches to learning which continued for the purpose of official exams. Then I present one of the effects of nationalism in post-colonial reformation which replaced skilled foreign teachers with untrained nationals.

Rote learning in the Ottoman Empire

During the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, education fell under administrative rule by religious institutions of the empire. From their highly administrative and bureaucratic systems, the Ottoman Empire isolated the Arab Islamic civilization from the Renaissance, Reformation and Industrial Revolution by imposing its orthodox approaches to education (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983). Schools and curricula for elementary education focused mainly on “memorizing and reciting the Qur’an, writing and arithmetic” (ibid, p. 16). These traditions of memorization continued into the twentieth century for the purpose of passing official exams. The topics in the text books, examined in the official exams, needed “to be memorized so that one’s chances in attempting the final examinations are maximized” which led to “memory work” being “the accepted and most widely used pattern of learning in school” (ibid, p. 109). As the systems of Ottoman rule imposed memorization for rote learning in schools, nationalism through education further reinforced the traditions of memorization as the dominant pedagogy.

Memorization and nationalism

Following colonial rule in West Asia and North Africa, nation-states reformed their social, political and economic structures through nationalism. However, one of the shortcomings of this resulted from the replacement of foreign teachers with any individual willing to teach as long as they had national legal status (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983). And since schools had already instituted rote learning for exams, teachers would “gear their lessons so that their students pass the exams” and thus “daily lessons [became] drills largely based on the content of previous exams” (ibid, p. 104). Furthermore, teachers positioned themselves as “authorities on each subject”, gave lectures and solved problems on the board and, with time remaining, students recited the material (ibid, p. 109). Hence, the entrance of new teachers based on nationality into an educational system of memorization for passing exams further contributed to modern-day practices of teaching and learning in the region.

Since practices of learning through discussions, collaboration, construction and reflection existed centuries ago, these contemporary, deep-rooted traditions of rote learning begin to illustrate the controversial influences of political agendas on teaching and learning. For instance, the religious institutions of the Ottoman Empire had intended to keep a stronghold over its subjects. Similarly, in the twenty-first century, memorization for rote learning in post-conflict societies still occurs in fear of promoting critical approaches to government policy as found in case studies by Weinstein et al. (2007). In Lebanon, as mentioned earlier, initial research finds memorization still a concern in its school classrooms despite educational and curricular reform that encourages and promotes constructive learning. And so, through this thesis, I intend to explore deeper into what teachers and students identify as contributing factors to their challenges of teaching and learning for active citizenship.

3.3 Overview of the literature

These two chapters, “Citizenship and Education for Citizenship” and “Teaching and Learning for Citizenship” present the essential frameworks and current tensions from which I base my research on in Lebanon. My overall focus is to explore the challenges of teaching and learning citizenship in Lebanon’s civics classrooms investigated through: 1) **understanding teacher and student concepts of citizenship**; and 2) **their teaching and learning experiences inside the classroom**. Therefore, I set working definitions for citizenship, citizenship education and active citizenship. Then, I described the fragility and power of education for war and peace and the necessity of a framework grounded in humanistic and democratic principles for progress. In the case of Lebanon, the educational aim of social cohesion demonstrated challenges due to the instabilities of the country and the limitations of civics as a school subject for active citizenship. Still, government policy and the nine general aims of the national curriculum illustrate initiatives and values for active citizenship through participation and dialogue across national, regional and, to an extent, global levels. However, deep-rooted traditions raise concerns in teaching and learning for active citizenship.

I revisit these concepts and themes which I have explored throughout this literature review when analyzing and discussing the findings of this study. The next chapter discusses the research questions, paradigms of research, methods of collecting and analyzing data and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4

Methodology

While facilitating a classroom discussion to year 10 students during my data collection in Lebanon, a young boy asked me, still puzzled after reading a participant information sheet, “What exactly do you do?” I felt that he needed a little more than “I’m exploring the challenges of how you learn citizenship in this classroom”. After a few seconds of thinking, I held out my left hand and replied, “On this side, we have your civics book and your school. They show you what a good society looks like or what good citizenship is through themes like democracy, human rights, mutual respect, etc.” Then I held out my right hand and said, “And on this side, we have what is actually happening. In between (holding up the space between my two hands) there is a gap. I want to know why there is this gap. There are many ways to understand this gap and I chose education. So, this is why I’m here; to ask you what has been difficult, what has been helpful. I then take your experiences, write them in a thesis and slowly, with other researchers, try to make this gap smaller.” The classroom went quiet. A student broke the silence and asked, “So what will you do with this PhD when you’re done?” I paused and said, “Good question.”

I found this illustration to be an accurate description of how I see my research. I first find the gap, and then design ways to understand it and explore it and, finally, talk about it. In this chapter, I talk about the gap; how I have come to find it and the methods I have chosen to explore it.

4.1 Research Questions

What I intend to investigate is first presented as an overarching research focus and then as more specific research questions. The research focus is derived from two key areas of interest. The first is the rationale behind researching citizenship education in Lebanon. In societies of known conflict, education can be part of the problem as well as part of the solution (Smith & Vaux, 2003). With the recurring conflicts and tensions among diverse communities in Lebanon’s fragmented society, I intend to contribute deeper insights and

further understandings into the educational factors that encourage and challenge social cohesion in Lebanon. Following this rationale, I then look at previous research that has explored citizenship education in Lebanon. This includes particular interests in critical reviews of the *National and Civic Education* curriculum (Acra, 2003; Frayha, 2004); frameworks of teaching and learning civics in Lebanon (Frayha, 2006); civic attitudes and skills of students in the ninth grade (El-Amine & Abouchedid, 2008); the challenges of developing learning resource materials (Frayha, 2004); and the cultural paradoxes of teaching citizenship in Lebanon (Joseph, 2005).

From these analyses of curricula, frameworks, learning resources and culture and the quantitative survey of students' civic attitudes and skills, a new focus looks into what is actually happening inside the Lebanese civics classrooms. In other words, what has been missing in the previous research is **engagement with teaching and learning experiences** from within the classroom. Thus, the overarching aim of this research is **to explore the challenges of teaching and learning citizenship through civic education in Lebanon**. Subsequently, I then look at literature related to attitudes towards pedagogies in Lebanon's civics classrooms. These include the recent but unpublished evidence from my MA dissertation (Akar, 2005) and a study presented by Shuayb in a conference (2005a) and as a book section (2007).

My previous research, an initial study on student and teacher attitudes towards civic education in Lebanon, found a general awareness and agreement among students and teachers on the developmental aims of citizenship education in relation to civic responsibilities and active participation within the community (Akar, 2005). At the same time, however, students felt that they were unable to effectively learn civic practices when their classes fostered rote learning and when the themes they were learning were not being practiced outside. Teachers, on the other hand, felt that the content of the texts were inappropriate for the age range of their students. They also expressed concerns about the inconsistencies between the values practiced at home and society and those being taught in school. Similarly, Shuayb's (2005a) study on attitudes about democratic values within the school showed a contrast of principals' views between public and

private schools where the former found democracy in schools a threat to the traditional and hierarchical school culture. Teachers and students, on the other hand, across the schools valued democratic practice while data showed “limited democratic practices in the classroom” in secular public schools (Shuayb, 2005a). In addition, practices of memorization were significantly found in private and public schools while barriers to active learning and knowledge transmission were more frequent in the public sector (Shuayb, 2007). These evidence-based papers are among the few to explore challenges of learning and citizenship education in Lebanese classrooms.

Shuayb’s approach focused on humanistic values primarily based on the development of the child’s personality including the child’s personal, emotional and psychological needs and democratic practices of student participation through student representative bodies and voices. Although her research presented critical evidence of inconsistent principles for citizenship, there still lacks data on conceptualizations of citizenship and details of pedagogical experiences and practices for humanistic and democratic principles. Hence, a research question was constructed: **To what extent are humanistic and democratic principles which are presupposed in citizenship education made explicit in the classroom and what difficulties do teachers have in teaching them?**

From this research question, I conducted two pilot studies interviewing civics teachers in Lebanon and facilitating a survey pack with the students. The findings from the teachers showed recurring issues of various concepts of citizenship and their relations with classroom pedagogies such as controversial debates and memorizing laws (Akar, 2006). The students presented an active concept of citizenship and expressed difficulties in learning with memorization and contradictions as barriers (Akar, 2007). Therefore, taking the two themes of concepts and pedagogies of citizenship, a new specific research question with more construct and content validity than the former is formulated: **How do teachers and students understand the concept of citizenship in Lebanon and how does this understanding influence the teaching and learning practices inside the classroom?**

This research question looks at the values that shape what is viewed as fundamental for citizenship in Lebanon. It also looks at how classroom teaching and student learning are motivated from self-conceptualized ideas of citizenship. Finally, this main research question intends to provide deeper insight into the challenges that education in Lebanon faces when promoting social cohesion. In answering the question above, I have designed specific methods of collecting and analyzing data from teachers and students.

The methodology of this research project has been organized into five sections. The first section presents social constructivism as the paradigm that frames the overall research design. The subsequent section presents a model study on which I build and the procedures taken and issues considered for the research sample. From this, I discuss the methods and instruments for collecting data starting with teachers and then students. Each of these sections will include a discussion on the methods of data collection and my role as a researcher. The third section describes, in detail, ethical considerations. Subsequently, I outline the framework for data analysis. Finally, I conclude this chapter by discussing some of the lessons learned from the pilot studies.

4.2 How I see the world

Once establishing the research question, it is necessary to identify the approach that underpins **how** the data will be collected and analyzed. The following will illustrate how the social constructivist paradigm underpins the methodology for this study.

A paradigm can be defined as “a way of looking at the world” using certain “philosophical assumptions” (Mertens, 2005, p. 7). My assumption, in simple terms, is that knowledge of the social sphere is constructed through the interaction with people extracting **their** perceptions and understandings of the world or reality around them. This paradigm is called the constructivist or social constructionist approach which has progressively shifted from traditional and empirical methods of scientific inquiry. To further illustrate, I will first juxtapose what Wellington (2000) calls its “common contrast” (p. 15), positivism.

Theoretically, the positivist paradigm produces knowledge that is “objective, value-free, generalizable and replicable” from a “detached” observer or researcher (Wellington, 2000, p. 15).³² Developing from the foundations of Descartes and Comte, the Vienna Circle under Moritz Schlick in the 1920s rejected metaphysical science (such as values, feelings and the subconscious) in contrast to the natural sciences (H. Hahn, Carnap, & Neurath, 1973 [1929]). Although Karl Popper opposed the Vienna Circle by suspending rather than rejecting metaphysical science, Popper still held on to positivist principles and claimed that a statement is empirically scientific “if and only if it is falsifiable” (Popper, 1983, p. xix).³³ This meant that something is scientific only if it can be tested through observations or measurements. However, this appeared problematic when researching matters in education and the social sciences since values and behaviours across education and the social world vary among individuals and cultures. Consequently, this challenged the idea of an absolute truth. Hence, some researchers modified the traditional positivist paradigm to post-positivism (cf Hammersley, 1995)³⁴ and, in particular, to research the social sciences (Crook & Garratt, 2005, see pp. 208-212). In social sciences, post-positivists contest the validity of concrete reality and objectivity while consider imperfectness and subjectivity as limitations of humans in observing the world (Mertens, 2005). Thus, specific variables are identified before data collection, methods of data collection are systematic; scientific knowledge is still produced only from things we can observe and measure. However, reality in the social world involves cultural, political, social and economic variables. In addition, the individuals involved in the phenomenon experience the interpersonal relationships and power dynamics and can thus be regarded as significant contributors to the construction and understandings of reality. Therefore, the positivist and post-positivist paradigms appear problematic when exploring the social world; hence, I turn to a more appropriate paradigm, constructivism.

³² Positivism is better known as logical positivism in science research; another positivist approach is logical empiricism. For more on logical empiricism, see Quine (1951) and for more on the relationship between logical positivism and logical empiricism, see Hardcastle (2006).

³³ For more on demarcation and falsifiability, see Popper (1959).

³⁴ For more critical analyses of positivism and post-positivism, see (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Reichardt & Rallis, 1994).

Social scientists have approached constructivism through a social constructionism paradigm³⁵, which has been most significantly built on by Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Searle (1995).³⁶ The reason why I have identified this paradigm as most appropriate for this study is because “reality is socially constructed” (Mertens, 2005, p. 12). Due to differences between societies, we must acknowledge the varieties of ‘knowledge’ as well as the “the processes by which *any* body of ‘knowledge’ comes to be socially established as ‘reality’” (Berger & Luckmann, 1979 [1966], p. 15). Furthermore, constructivism emphasizes “the importance of the participant’s view”, the “setting or context...in which the participants expressed the views”, and the “meaning[s] people personally held” (Creswell, 2005, pp. 42-43). Such a paradigm helps better **communicate** meanings or understandings that people have. For instance, the social constructionist researcher would be sensitive to the power dynamics in developing societies by trying various methods to enable children and mothers to “voice their point of view” (Laws, Harper, & Marcus, 2003, p. 28). This also fits a children’s rights perspective where they are able to practice the right to be heard as explicated in Article 12 of the UNCRC (United Nations, 1989), a legally binding instrument. Thus, contrary to positivism, reality is subjective, embracing the notion that peoples’ understandings, including the values of the researcher, contribute towards the construction of reality. Nonetheless, “constructed reality *is* real” (Lynch, 2006, p. 775).

In this study, I explore concepts of citizenship and the challenges of teaching and learning it. As a social science researcher, I facilitate a construction of teachers’ and students’ realities. Building on their values, perceptions and experiences, I then disseminate their conceptualizations of citizenship and classroom experiences into a social reality. Hence, a social constructionist paradigm grounds the framework from which I collect, analyze and interpret the data. Furthermore, since quantitative approaches structured the existing studies in Lebanon on citizenship (El-Amine & Abouché, 2008) and aspects of citizenship education (Abouché et al., 2002), this study is the

³⁵ Other constructivist approaches include naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and the interpretivist approach (Wellington, 2000).

³⁶ For further reading on concepts and historical movements of social constructionism, see Gergen (1985).

first, to date, to research citizenship and citizenship education through a qualitative, social constructivist-based methodology.

4.3 Methods of Data Collection

This section will describe **what** methods will provide further understandings in answering the main research question. Here, I am exploring two areas: 1) how citizenship is conceptualized; and 2) the pedagogies that are influenced from these concepts in both teachers and students. Since I will collect this data from teachers and students separately, the methodology is presented starting with the teacher participants followed by the students. In each of the methodologies, I will present the rationales and issues behind sample selection, data collection, data analysis, ethical concerns and my roles as a researcher. Finally, in a separate section, I will discuss access as an additional concern in teacher and student data that are raised in my study. First, however, let us look at some of the methodological frameworks which have been used previously when investigating citizenship education using student and teacher participants.

Building on a model

I have selected Carole Hahn because, to a large degree, we share not only an interest in the conceptualization of citizenship in adolescents, but also a qualitative research design guiding the methods we use to explore this.³⁷ In a time span of eleven years, Carole Hahn conducted a comparative study across five nations on the diversity of citizenship education focusing on youth attitudes towards the political culture in their society. Moreover, a specific emphasis later emerged towards controversial issues in the classroom. Her research methodology was designed in a “complementary manner” to two traditions of political learning: political socialization and cognitive development (C. L. Hahn, 1998, p. xi). She investigated concepts for political socialization using questionnaires and quantitative methods combined with qualitative student interviews to

³⁷ For more on quantitative research designs in exploring student attitudes in citizenship education, see Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz (2001) and Hoskins, Villalba, Van Nijlen, & Barber (2008).

explore cognitive development (ibid). In addition, Hahn (ibid) also triangulated data collected from observations and surveys to give a more “complete picture of political learning” (p. xi).

Her methods of data collection started with student questionnaires which qualitatively explored attitudes, behaviours and beliefs. In addition to developmental changes that had occurred in each of the countries, the data that had emerged required Hahn to revise some of the questionnaires and re-administer them. In her final year, Hahn interviewed students in groups “from two to eight” and “spoke with whole classes, asking for hands to show general agreement or disagreement with comments made by individual students” using a semi-structured format (p. 4). Also, teacher interviews were conducted “in staff rooms, restaurants, and in cars or on trains riding to and from school” (p. 4). Finally, Hahn (1998) described how her methods of analysis were drawn from the frameworks of Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Strauss (1987) where themes were generated from the data and categorized into codes. This process is generally known as grounded theory. In her analysis, Hahn (1998) looked for “causes, conditions, processes, and consequences” (p. 5). Although her methodology and my research design are different in many ways, I draw extensively on Hahn as a model. I have built on her method, making adjustments in accordance with my research questions and the cultural contexts of schools in Lebanon. So, following the next section on the sample of schools, I describe further how I have come to design my research study.

Sampling – The schools

The schools that participated in this study were private institutions. They were selected according to the dominant religious identity of the teacher and student population as well as the geographical region. The teacher participants taught secondary school civics while the students were in grades 10 and 11. The selection criteria, as listed below, are based on two rationales: access and identity. The participants were selected through snowball sampling. In this section, I will further discuss the rationales of this sample.

- private schools (access)
- years 10 and 11 in secondary school (access)
- representative of religious and regional identity (culture)

Professor BouJaoude (2007) from the American University of Beirut stressed how access into schools in Lebanon is the primary challenge for carrying out school-based research in the country. Collecting data in Lebanese public schools requires permission from the Ministry of Education. Unfortunately, the bureaucracy and red tape involved is very time consuming. On the other hand, gaining access into private institutions is much simpler. To show good faith, some of these private schools asked for a letter from the university while others felt more comfortable through some form of introduction. Thus, many of the schools arrived through snowball sampling.

Snowball sampling is primarily associated in research studies of criminals, drug users, people with AIDS and high-ranking elitist groups. Such members are either “hard-to-reach” or “hard-to-identify” and since they are also “somewhat interconnected” (Schutt, 2006, p. 157) they are “asked to name other members...who are then asked to name others, and so on” (Sudman & Kalton, 1986, p. 413). Thus, “as newly identified members name others, the sample snowballs” (Fink, 2003, p. 18). In education research, snowball sampling is used when “access is difficult, maybe because it is a sensitive topic...or where communication networks are underdeveloped” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). Snowball sampling in education research starts by identifying a certain number of individuals who identify and introduce the researcher to other similar individuals (ibid).

Lebanon is predominantly a culture of *who knows who*. Moreover, its tense political nature may make research appear threatening (cf Nasser & Abouchedid, 2000), particularly when researching education for citizenship. Therefore, through snowball sampling, schools appeared more willing to participate when a colleague or someone they knew had introduced the researcher to them. For instance, the headmaster of one of the more traditional private schools told me that he greatly respects the gentleman that introduced him to me; and from that the school will cooperate as much as it can. Thus, since I once taught in elementary school, I have created connections with people

affiliated with private schools – teachers, parents, friends, professors and researchers. Although snowball sampling may result in biased data, “more systematic versions of snowball sampling can reduce the potential for bias” (Schutt, 2006, p. 157). The system constructed for this sample is based on the aforementioned criteria of years 10 and 11 in private schools representative of religious and regional identities. Snowball sampling made access into schools easier and teachers more comfortable and willing to cooperate.

Another selection criterion is that the students had to be from grades 10 and 11. In secondary school, government exams are taken after grades 9 and 12.³⁸ Since the reflective exercises required a full class period, teachers and schools were unable to give up the one-hour-per-week lesson in these grades. Since the students in grades 10 and 11 (referred to as Baccalaureate II and Seconde, respectively) were not pressured for exam preparation, they were more able to participate. The type of schools and the grades of the student participants were selected according to access.

Private schools in Lebanon are “overwhelmingly of a confessional nature” (Frayha, 2004, p. 178). BouJaoude suggested that one approach towards a more representative sample would be identifying schools through a form of religious identity along with a category of ‘mixed’ schools (BouJaoude, 2007). The rationale of including religious identity as a criterion in the sample selection is based on the religious and political identities embedded in the Lebanese sectarian culture and demography as well as the history of confessional-based schools. The history of conflicts and tensions in Lebanon are identity-based, both political and religious. Although a portion of the population have detached themselves from certain religious or political identities, there still exists some form of religious undertone in their values, ideas, place of origin in Lebanon and other cultural practices. Therefore, the feelings and practices of citizenship in Lebanon are influenced by some form or another of either a religious or political undertone.

Also, historically, the development of schools in Lebanon following the Ottoman Empire has been based on confessional motives such as the influx of Christian missionary

³⁸ The Baccalaureate I and Terminale are administered after these years, respectively.

schools (Abouchedid, 1997). However, confessional identities of many schools have transferred from administrative ethos to demographic population. For example, in a prominent Catholic school in Beirut, the director held up his tie during an interview saying, “You see this? I’m a priest; but I can’t wear my white band anymore. The Christians have left this neighbourhood and the majority of the population is now Muslim”. Not only is 100% of the student enrolment and teaching staff Muslim, but Friday and Sunday are weekends with Saturday a school day. Therefore, in instances where the school has a Christian-based mission and a Muslim majority of teachers and students, I categorize the school as a Muslim sample since I am exploring their experiences in relation to their own concepts and ideas of practice and feelings. And since the school’s demographic areas are also represented by some form of religious identity, the selection criteria for the sample also consider both religious identity and regional disposition.

Lebanon is composed of six provinces or *mûhāfazāt*: Al Bekaa, Al Nabatiyeh, Beirut, Mount Lebanon, South Lebanon and North Lebanon (see map in Appendix D). The schools in this study are located in the latter four. Also, with over 17 sects across the country, the sample comprises three primaries – Muslims, Christians, Druze – with a fourth classified as ‘mixed’. A total of 19 schools participated which included 19 teachers and 441 students. See Table 4.1 for a more detailed illustration of the distribution of participants. I also purposely had a majority of ‘Muslim’ students since the Muslim population in Lebanon is the majority. It is important to reiterate that these schools do not necessarily teach values strictly pertinent to the religious identity; rather, the criteria for classification include the religious identity of the school’s area and the clear majority of its students and teachers. The purpose of the sample is to explore concepts and experiences from various types of identities. There is no explicit intention to compare schools or sectarian groups.

Table 4.1 Sample distribution of participants

Classification of School	Teachers	Students
Muslim Beirut	3	17
Muslim North Lebanon	1	89
Muslim South Lebanon	2	96
Christian Beirut	2	50
Christian North Lebanon	4	84
Christian Mount Lebanon	2	40
Druze Mount Lebanon	3	44
Mixed Beirut	1	21
Mixed Mount Lebanon	1	
Total	19	441

4.3.1 Interviewing teachers

In exploring teachers' concepts of citizenship education and their classroom teaching experiences, qualitative data were collected through a semi-structured interview (see Appendices F and G). These guided discussions allow room for selecting relevant topics that emerge and further exploring them. Jones (1985) identifies this as "depth interviewing" where the researchers are "continually making choices, based on their research interests and prior theories, about which data they want to pick up and explore further with respondents and those which they do not" (p. 47)³⁹. Moreover, this semi-structured approach is recognized as being discursive and inclusive rather than mechanical and, from this, has noticeably been widely used in feminist-research (Oakley, 1981)⁴⁰. The civics teachers, whom I interviewed, expressed satisfaction and gratitude for having the opportunity to reflect on their teaching experiences.

³⁹ Reprinted as edited extract in Seale, C. (Ed.) (2004). *Social research methods: A reader* (pp. 257-260). London: Routledge.

⁴⁰ Reprinted as edited extract in Seale, C. (Ed.) (2004). *Social research methods: A reader* (pp. 261-268). London: Routledge.

The interviews

From the 16 private schools that participated in this study, 19 civics teachers were interviewed to explore their challenges and positive experiences when teaching civics (see Table 4.1 for distribution). The sample comprised 6 males and 13 females. For the males, three had less than 10 years of civics teaching experience, while the other half had taught for 10, 11 and 37 years. From the 13 females, seven had five or less years of teaching experience while the remaining six ranged between 8 and 21 years. Interviews ranged from 25 to 30 minutes. Each teacher was given a Participant Information Sheet that listed the contact details of my supervisor and I, the rationale of the research study and assurance of confidentiality (see Appendix E). Teachers were also given a list of the questions where versions in English and Arabic were available (see Appendices F and G, respectively), so 16 of the 19 interviews were in Arabic. Only two of the teachers, one male and one female, preferred to answer the questions in written form. While I agreed to their preferences, we still managed to talk about some of their teaching experiences for about 12 minutes each. The interviews were audio-recorded using a digital recorder.

There were nine questions that guided the discussions with the teachers. The first question was an ice-breaker where they introduced themselves by telling me how long they have been teaching. The second set of questions explored their own concepts of citizenship and the school's role in teaching it. The third set started a discussion on their teaching experiences inside the classroom looking at both rewarding and challenging moments. The final set of questions wrapped up the discussion inviting them to suggest some changes they would make in the curriculum and advice they would give new teachers.

A hired assistant in Lebanon transcribed and translated nearly half the interviews and I completed the remainder. She is a qualified translator and was thus appropriate for transcribing interviews in Arabic into English scripts. I read the English transcripts along with the audio recordings to ensure accuracy and quality. Several transcripts were also read by two independent readers who would note emerging themes. According to Stemler

(2001), the emergence of similar coding themes from parallel and independent readers demonstrates good reliability of data analysis. Subsequently, we discussed thematic categories that emerged. The two individuals were fluent in both Arabic and English.

From researcher to colleague

I found my role during the interviews would interchange between researcher and colleague. During some interviews, several teachers were slightly more defensive and appeared uncomfortable at the start. So, showing interest in their opinions and experiences by saying encouraging statements like ‘very interesting’ transformed the tense interviews into casual and collegial conversations. However, in maintaining my role as a researcher, I avoided comments and gestures that showed my own opinions. Thus, I was able to maintain an inquisitive nature while at the same time creating an ambiance of collegiality. As a result, teachers supported their comments with numerous anecdotes and stated their criticisms of sensitive issues such as the government, national curriculum and even the school. In addition, at the end of the interviews, many expressed gratitude for having the opportunity to share with someone their experiences, philosophies and concerns.

4.3.2 Working with students

Unlike the teacher participants, consulting children in research that concerns them is a legal requirement according to Article 12 of the UNCRC. Also, the methods of inquiry included qualitative as well as quantitative approaches in exploring students’ conceptualizations of citizenship and their learning experiences inside the civics classroom. These two types of data were collected from students using instruments for self-reflection. These instruments comprised a **survey pack** and a **class discussion** which were designed as a **class lesson** (see Appendices J₁-J₃, K and L). The method of collecting data as a class lesson, according to McDonald and Topper (1988), is similar to the Creative-Drama approach in group research with children. Also, recording and discussing their reflections allows researchers to “join closely with the participants from

the outset” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 9). The design of the survey pack and its subsequent class discussion are grounded in principles of focus groups, the paradigm of social constructivism and elements of effective learning.

Typically, organizations use focus groups for marketing or interview purposes. They provide “a way to better understand how people feel or think about an issue, product, service or idea” (Krueger & Casey, 2000, p. 4). Focus groups focus on a specific set of issues and their dynamics are based on a type of collective activity (Kitzinger, 1994) comprising groups of six to eight selected participants (Krueger & Casey, 2000). In education research with children and adolescents, the principles of focus groups remain since they allow the researcher to “gain a more in-depth understanding of the subjects’ perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and experiences” (Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996, p. 131) and views emerge when children “interact with each other” during focus groups (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 288). However, a few things differ when using the whole classroom as a focus group. The participants are no longer selected, only the classroom is. Also, the dynamics slightly vary when the numbers reach 20 or more. For instance, as a facilitator, I gain responsibilities for classroom management which entails a system of raising hands and calling on students to answer. Nevertheless, the students still interact with each other building on views and experiences.

In addition to expressing and discussing views and experiences during the class discussion, part of the research focus inquires into students’ constructed understandings of citizenship. Hence, the social constructivist paradigm underpins the design of the survey pack that allows the students to **construct** their own conceptualizations of citizenship by starting with open-ended questions that ask them to write about certain experiences they have had.

Lastly, elements of effective learning – construction; co-construction; and review and monitoring (Watkins et al., 2007) – also underpinned the activities of the survey pack. Certain sections allowed them to reflect on their own learning, construct a diamond ranking of themes in citizenship and collaborate with peers during the class discussion.

Students even have opportunities to provide feedback on the design of the instrument further developing the methodology.

Therefore, the class lesson grounded in principles of focus groups, the paradigm of social constructivism and elements of effective learning lead to several benefits for the researcher:

1. Triangulate qualitative and quantitative data with each other and subsequently triangulate them with teacher findings to gain deeper insights;
2. Provide an opportunity to receive feedback on the design of the instrument;

and the students:

3. Provide opportunities for students to practice their rights in contributing to research and decisions that will affect them (see Article 12 of the UNCRC); and
4. Facilitate an active learning experience through constructions, reflection, meta-learning and collaboration.

Overall, the classroom lesson was a unique methodology based on effective learning principles. Furthermore, as an interventionist in research, I facilitated their construction of reality. The combination of a pedagogical framework in a social constructionist paradigm, replicated and modified, presents a user-friendly, beneficial and, in turn, a win-win methodology worth sharing with other researchers in the field for practice and further development. The following will present, in detail, the written exercises and class discussions which provided deeper understandings of the students' concepts of citizenship and their learning experiences.

The class lesson

A total of 441 students from 14 schools participated in the study (see earlier Table 4.1 for distribution). Each student was given a survey pack. Six of the packs were less than one-third completed and, thus, removed from the data set leaving surveys from a net total of 435 students (225 males and 210 females). Classrooms ranged from 12 to 30 students. Students were between the ages of 15 and 17. From a total of 22 classrooms, I instructed four in Arabic. Although the survey pack itself was in English, classes who preferred

Arabic received instructions in Arabic, diamond ranking cut-out themes in Arabic and the choice to write their responses in Arabic. Teachers were present in all schools but one. They not only wanted to aid in translation but also experience, what they described as, a novel activity.

The class lesson included the survey pack and group discussion and took the duration of the class hour which ranged between 45-50 minutes. I first presented a lesson plan (see Table 4.2, opposite page) to the school director and classroom teacher for approval. The first five minutes were for introductions, general instructions and questions. I introduced myself and my research project using a Participant Information Sheet (PIS; see Appendix H) which was attached to each survey pack. In addition, the PIS stated that knowing their names was not important for the exercise. Furthermore, the students appeared to appreciate my reassurance that I would be the only person reading their comments. Approximately 30 minutes were allocated to complete the survey pack (see Appendices J₁-J₃) and 15 minutes for the class discussion. Each student completed the pack individually with my guidance on each section (see Appendix K for instructions on administering the pack). Although it would have been a more enriching experience if they had collaborated in pairs or groups, time was limited and I found that time for the class discussions was more beneficial and rewarding to me and the students.

The survey pack was in two sections. The first section explored their **concepts of citizenship** and the second explored their **learning experiences** inside the classroom. Section I comprised four parts. Starting on the front page, they were first asked to circle 'male' or 'female'. This was a great ice-breaker with humorous comments coming from students and myself. Parts A, B and C were open-ended questions. Part A asked the students to list things they have already done that they consider have made them good people in the community. Part B asked them to list things they have not yet done but would like to do. And Part C asked them to think of a person they consider being an effective member of society, whether in Lebanon or abroad, living or deceased. Without naming the person, the questions asked things the person has done, has felt while doing them and certain bits of knowledge needed in order to implement them. The feelings and

knowledge questions appeared to be most difficult. I gave an example of an athlete. Most of the classes chose Michael Jordan and this helped them out.

Table 4.2 Summary of lesson plan for student data collection

Time	Brief description (see Appendix K for administration of survey pack)
5 min	Introduction using Participant Information Sheets and answer any questions the students might have.
10 min	Section I; Parts A, B and C. Giving instructions for each part separately, allow 3-4 minutes to complete each part. After giving instructions for Part C, hand out glue sticks and cut-out themes for Part D, diamond ranking exercise.
10 min	Part D. Diamond ranking exercise. Remind students to write down one sentence next to top and last theme explaining why they had placed them there and to write an additional theme in the space provided.
10 min	Section II. Students can raise their hands and ask their classmates the English meanings of certain Arabic words or ideas. Give two-minute warning towards end of exercise.
15 min	If 15 minutes are available, then begin to discuss the diamond ranking exercise; however, if time is limited, go straight to discussing their written comments in Section II.

Part D is a diamond ranking exercise. Rank-order questions “enable a *relative* degree of preference, priority, intensity etc. to be chartered” (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 252). My supervisor and I devised a creative and interactive diamond ranking exercise using pedagogical techniques to investigate their understandings of citizenship. For this exercise, each student was given a stick of glue and nine small pieces of paper with themes of citizenship written on them (see Appendix L for versions in English and Arabic). I generated these themes from themes that had emerged from previous findings in the MA dissertation and pilot studies. The students were asked to paste them on the diamond-shaped model (Appendix J₂) starting with what they considered to be the most important on top and finally least important at the bottom. It was important to emphasize “what **you** consider most and least important”. I also asked the students to explain, in one

sentence next to each of the **most** and **least** important themes, why they had pasted them there. In addition, they also had the option to write their own theme in the blank box available. This activity took between five to eight minutes.

The second and final section comprised four open-ended questions: what lesson they had enjoyed most in their civics class; what difficulties they found when learning civics; how they would improve the subject in general; and any after thoughts during the class discussion. A maximum of 10 minutes were given to write their comments. For the remainder of the time, I facilitated a class discussion. This was audio-recorded with a digital recorder that I carried in my hand. I told the class that student comments are very interesting and I am particularly keen on using them in my writing. I also told them that I would repeat their statements so as to pick it up clearly on the recorder. The presence of the recorder appeared to have a beneficial effect on the students' participation. The students had sat up straight and appeared to make an effort in cooperating by raising their hands and talking clearly. Although some class discussions seemed slightly tense during the first minute or two, a certain discursive flow picked up and the class discussion became dynamic, energetic and participative.

To me, the class discussion was critically important for three main reasons. First, it allowed room for themes to expand and new ones to emerge. The discussions also allowed me to see frequency levels of agreement and disagreement through a show of hands. Finally, it provided the students opportunities to interpret their own responses. The diamond ranking exercise in particular can be subject to various interpretations. During the discussions, their reasons for pasting the values in the order they did provided me their own interpretations of why some themes were most important while others were least. Through the class discussions, the students significantly contributed to the process of constructing their reality in both concepts of citizenship and learning experiences inside the classroom.

When analyzing the survey packs, the comments written in Arabic were translated into English by myself and an assistant. They were then back-translated into English orally to

ensure accuracy. Many of the students found difficulty expressing certain Arabic words in English. Thus, I encouraged them to ask their peers in finding the best English word.

From researcher to facilitator

Inside the classroom, my role switched from researcher to facilitator. Facilitating this exercise with the students demanded certain skills and behaviours teachers practice when teaching. This included walking around the classroom, being receptive to students who work at different paces, calling on students with their hands raised, motivating students to engage and reiterating and rephrasing their comments. With previous teaching experience, returning to the classroom was a rewarding experience. At the start of the class, I introduced myself while standing at the front and for the remainder of the period walked around between the aisles giving further instructions and answering questions students had had.

My biggest challenge, however, was behaviour management which was an issue for a brief moment in one of the schools. The teacher was absent that day and it was the only school that did not introduce me to the class. There was a particular student who played the 'class clown' with disruptive behaviour. Some of the other students in that class shared my views and in their survey packs wrote comments apologizing for the behaviour of this particular student. Still, we managed to carry out the exercise constructively.

By and large, I felt that I was able to wear both, researcher and teacher/facilitator, hats. The unique interchangeability of the two roles entails facilitating self-reflection and collaborative discussions while avoiding 'teaching' or presenting new knowledge into the class. Although one student asked me to explain why we have identity crises, I was still able to continuously record observations during the activities. There is a thin line between these dual roles and being aware of them enhances the beneficial outcomes of the research study and the reflective exercises.

4.4 Ethical considerations

The collection of data comprised two activities involving human participation – interviews with teachers and classroom exercises with students. Both activities neither inflicted nor commanded any form of physically strenuous activity aside from the short duration of everyday speaking and writing functions. In consideration of psychological harm, teacher interviews and reflective exercises with students posed almost no risks of emotional detriment. I started the interviews with teachers by explicitly stating the general purpose of my research. I reassured confidentiality of identity orally since a written statement involving signatures might have actually altered the emotional state of the participant due to the sensitive cultural context. Also, permission was requested orally for the digital audio recording of the teacher interviews.

The second activity involved a reflective exercise with secondary school students. Consent is a particular issue in this case. Students or adults have the option to participate and thus consent is required for any type of participation. Initially, I considered stating that if they do not feel comfortable, participation is not obligatory. However, I feared the risk of emotional discomfort as they might feel obliged to participate so as to merely satisfy their teacher. Therefore, I decided to construct this tool as a classroom activity with a formal lesson plan so as to maintain a familiar classroom teaching and learning environment. The lesson was then presented to the principal and classroom teacher for approval making my role more of a facilitator of a planned exercise. Since the activity involved the students recording and discussing their reflections on their learning experiences in the civics classroom, they were asked not to write their names on the survey packs. In addition to confidentiality, I also informed them that only I would read their responses in order to create a more comfortable and relaxed environment. For the teacher and student participants, I provided for each a Participant Information Sheet (PIS; Appendices E and H, respectively) which I read aloud at the start of the activities. The PIS introduced me as a researcher, explained the purpose of my research, provided contact information of my supervisor and I and reassured confidentiality. Furthermore, the PIS and the design of the activities addressed essential issues outlined in the ethical

guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (2004) with specific regard to: participants as active (section 8); informed consent (sections 9 and 10) and the rights and interests of young participants (section 14).

Finally, one critical consideration of ethical issues in a research study is to review the effects of the study on the participant by analyzing the costs and benefits to the individual (Reynolds, 1982). Even in cases of ethnographic research, exploitation poses a threat and questions concerning benefits arise. In these cases Atkinson and Hammersley (1995) claim that some researchers recommend that “participants should be empowered by becoming part of the research process” (p. 275). Moreover, the new information can be used by participants, the observer and others “toward better-informed action”; hence, “benefits **can be** derived from the contributions of researchers” (Romm, 2001, p. 219, emphasis added by self). However, a cost-benefit analysis on the effects of the participant can be to a large extent based on observer subjectivity. This is why ethical considerations must “engage a wide spectrum of players in the risk/benefit assessment to obtain diverse perspectives and value orientations” (Sieber, 1992, p. 76). Assessing the risks or costs and the benefits involved discussions with my research supervisor and several colleagues from the Research Ethics Committee at the Institute of Education (IOE) in addition to IOE’s compulsory application for formal ethics approval. The following discussion will present several costs and benefits for both teachers and students.

4.4.1 Costs/Risks

The framework for measuring risk to participants is derived from Sieber’s (1992, p. 80) examples that would lead to “harm, loss or damage”:

- mere inconvenience
- physical risk
- psychological risk
- social risk
- legal risk

The primary risk factor to consider for this specific study will be the ‘mere inconvenience’ of time. In addition to this, some of the teacher interviewees might view the critical discussion on the social and political elements in education as a risk factor in terms of public controversy. As for the students, the costs or risk factors may include the pressure of participating in the activity and the fear factor of expressing their views in a critical manner. An additional risk factor might also include a loss of a certain lesson which could be critical for their curriculum. Also, the teacher who would approve the lesson plan would not have seen my teaching style; the possibility of clashing teaching styles could further impede the classroom climate most comfortable for the teacher and students. Although identifying all costs and risks is “indeed impossible” (Sieber, 1992, p. 79), the intersubjective analyses itself demonstrates the need for the continuous discourse and considerations of ethical issues related to the research study with regard to the moral responsibilities as researchers and the fundamental purposes of the research itself.

4.4.2 Benefits

The benefits of both teachers and students in this particular study involved constructive and reflective activities which, as Sieber (1992) emphasizes as benefits during data collection, lead to further “insight, training, learning” and even “psychosocial benefits” such as altruism, feeling worthwhile, and “receiving favourable attention and esteem” (p. 102). Furthermore, Sieber (ibid) also highlights the Hawthorne effect where the participants perceive the activity as a sign of “respect and attention” thus leading to improving their “outlook and performance” (p. 102). Concerning the benefits for teachers, informal feedback from the teachers in the pilot and main studies showed that the interview was indeed a positive exercise. The teachers reflected on the interviews as opportunities to discuss a topic which has a very limited audience in Lebanon. At the same time, the benefits gained by the students are based on some of the underpinning frameworks of the instrument design which I described earlier. In particular, participation provided an opportunity for students to practice their legal right of contributing to research and decisions that would affect them later on. Also, the activities allowed for construction, co-construction and review of their learning, elements of effective learning

according to Watkins et al. (2007). Self-reflection and other reflective exercises promote deeper learning and understanding (Baron, 1998; Black & Wiliam, 1998; Watkins, Carnell, Lodge, Wagner, & Whalley, 2002). Thus, the beneficial effects of self-reflection through interviews and classroom exercises greatly reduce issues of ethical controversy. In turn, these reflective activities with the teachers and students resulted in findings that constructed their realities – a methodology in line with the social constructivist paradigm.

4.5 Framework for Data Analysis

Data was collected in various forms: audio, worksheet activity and written statements. The audio-recorded data from the teacher interviews and the student group discussions were transcribed and analyzed as qualitative data along with the written comments in the survey packs. I organized and coded this data in Atlas.ti software. The diamond ranking exercise from the survey pack was entered into SPSS as quantitative data for a content analysis identifying frequency of themes. When analyzing the qualitative data, which was the primary form of data collected, I drew on a sequence presented by Miles & Huberman (1994):

1. “Sifting” through the materials to “identify similar phrases, relationships between variables, patterns, themes, distinct differences between subgroups, and common sequences;
2. “Isolating these patterns and processes, commonalities and differences;
3. “Gradually elaborating a small set of generalizations that cover the consistencies;
4. “Confronting those generalizations with a formalized body of knowledge” such as previous theoretical and conceptual frameworks (p. 9).

These four basic steps provided the framework used to analyze the students’ written comments in the survey packs and teachers’ responses during the interviews. Since the sections of the survey pack were coded and categorized differently from each other and from the teacher interviews, I describe the processes of sifting and identifying patterns immediately before presenting the findings to avoid confusion and, thus, maintain a particular flow in the following chapters. After presenting the findings, I then discuss emerging themes and relate them to evidence-based literature.

The methodology of this research study went through stages of pilot studies to refine the instruments and procedures of data collection and analysis. In the final section of this chapter, I briefly present several lessons I have learned from the pilot studies which have improved the validities of the methods of inquiry into citizenship education in Lebanon.

4.6 Lessons learned from the pilot studies

I conducted two different pilot studies – one for teachers and one for students. Their purposes was to help in increasing reliability and validity through feedback, misunderstood questions and observations (Cohen et al., 2000, pp. 260-261; Mertens, 2005, pp. 182-183, 380). After each session of data collection, I would reflect on the experiences and slightly modify a part of the methodology for the next interview or class lesson. In April 2006, I interviewed four secondary school civics teachers and, subsequently, reported my findings (Akar, 2006). I found that questions inquiring into hypothetical situations confirm the invalid usage of hypothetical questions since teacher responses showed inconsistent results. Also, I gained more confidence in interviewing in Arabic. This level of confidence was especially useful when talking to a whole classroom of secondary school students in Arabic. In January 2007, I piloted the student survey packs in two eleventh grade classrooms, both in different schools, and reported the findings (Akar, 2007). I started the class lesson with the diamond ranking exercise but then shifted it after the open-ended questions to avoid an exposure effect since the students replicated many of the cards' themes in their written comments. Finally, during the class discussions at the end, I asked the students to circle the questions they found to be difficult as well as to comment on parts of the exercise they had enjoyed the most. I was also able to improve the processes of analyzing and interpreting the data.

The next four chapters present and discuss the findings from the main study. I begin with the teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education and their experiences of teaching civics. Then, in two chapters, I first present and discuss students' conceptualizations of citizenship followed by a chapter on their learning experiences in the civics classroom. The fourth chapter discusses the themes and tensions that emerge

from the commonalities and differences of findings from the teachers' and students' responses.

4.7 Reflections on methodology

In this final section, I reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the research design, challenges encountered in data collection and analysis and on the changes I could make.

4.7.1 Strengths and weaknesses

I mentioned earlier, at the start of this chapter, that engagement with students and teachers had been missing in previous research on citizenship education in Lebanon. Hence, one of the main strengths of this methodology lies in the level of engagement students and teachers made with the survey packs and interviews. Building on Hahn's (1998) methodology, I developed an interactive and self-reflective survey pack for the students, designed as a civics lesson. The students' participation with the activities in the survey pack generated data that enabled me to gain some, albeit limited, insights into their understandings and experiences. Another strength lies in the benefits gained by the participants. The students practiced their legal right spelled out in Article 12 of the UNCRC which requires the consultation of children "in all matters affecting [them]" (United Nations, 1989, Article 12). In this case, this research study consulted children for the purpose of raising critical questions and arriving at valid claims on the extent to which their civic education, indeed, fosters active citizenship and social cohesion. Also, the exercises were designed to engage students in activities of construction, collaboration and reflection which, according to the students' feedback in Appendix R, appeared beneficial to their learning. Also, through semi-structured interviews, teachers were able to reveal their perceptions and classroom experiences.

However, the challenges of access into schools and the limitations of the quantitative data analysis presented some weaknesses in the methodology. The build-up of networks, or snowballing, allowed access into schools. However, the selection of schools based on

networking limits the external validity, or generalizability, of the findings. I mitigated this by selecting schools from four different provinces and by limiting the criteria to private schools, civics classrooms and grades 10 and 11. Also, my analysis of the quantitative data was restricted to broad findings about understanding and priorities. With more time and sophisticated data analysis, I could run a more thorough quantitative analysis on correlations and hope to publish this work at a later date.

4.7.2 Challenges in data collection and analysis

While collecting and analyzing data, I encountered three main challenges when facilitating activities in classrooms, interviewing teachers and interpreting quantitative responses.

The nature of the survey pack was a class lesson and, when facilitating activities to students, also came the responsibility of classroom behaviour management. Although I had previous teaching experience in primary school, two of the secondary classrooms had a few students who were unwilling to participate conscientiously. Also, it was important to be aware of and involve the students who did not appear so motivated or confident to participate. I did this by asking them if they agreed with their classmate's responses and explain why or why not.

Teacher interviews generated some concern in that respondents did not wish to appear disloyal to the school. I overcame this by temporarily suspending data recording. For instance, one teacher asked to turn off the recorder for a part of the conversation on the degree of support received from the school. I kept detailed notes of these passages.

From piloting the diamond ranking exercise, it emerged that the analysis would be limited without some indication of the reasons for the choices. In the mains study, I, therefore, asked the students to write a few words stating why they placed the themes in the first and last boxes. This improved validity of data interpretation since common

themes emerged from their responses. From some of these challenges and weaknesses mentioned, there are several changes in the methodology I would make.

4.7.3 Changes I might make

The sample in this study relied heavily on access into schools through snowballing which limits the external validity, or generalizability, of the findings. Although I attempted to enhance external validity through selection criteria – four provinces, grades 10 and 11, civic education classrooms and religious denomination – the sample would ideally extend across all six provinces and include more schools. In addition, the findings may have been better triangulated with responses from principals and policy makers as a new set of participants. The opportunities for collecting rich data, the feasibility of active learning in the civics classrooms and the benefits received by the participants are presented as contributions to research in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 5

Teaching civic education inside the classroom

The semi-structured interviews with 19 teachers explored: 1) their **philosophies and ideas of citizenship and citizenship education**; and 2) their **teaching experiences inside the classroom**. They took place in empty classrooms, noisy teachers' lounges, the principal's office, the school reception, a parking lot and a teacher's home. All transcriptions were typed into Word and coded into Atlas.ti, a software for analyzing qualitative data. Certain phrases from the teachers' responses were coded and then grouped into four categories. These four categories and summaries of the findings are presented in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Categories and findings from teacher interviews

1. Philosophies of citizenship and education for citizenship	2. Factors that challenge and limit civics teaching
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Nationalism as a foundation for citizenship education- Minimalist notions of citizenship- To learn by doing and memorization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Inconsistencies of textbooks- Limitations from official exams- School, society and home as influential institutions
3. Critical incidents inside the classroom	4. Suggestions to be considered and advice to new teachers
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Facilitated or prevented debates- Controversy in teachers' roles during discussions on controversial issues- Projects and role play were popular activities for students.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Role model to students- Provide more activities- Promote degree of seriousness toward civics

The following narrates these themes with teachers' quotes in double-quotations followed by their reference numbers. From these findings, tensions and contradictions emerged between what they believe in and their actual practices that they have reflected on.

5.1 Understandings of citizenship and philosophies of teaching and learning

From the interviews, teachers illustrated a citizenship that mainly focused on the citizen's responsibilities to the nation. Secondly, they described the school and education using

metaphors such as harvesting crops, a second home or a small nation from which children are raised with democratic values for peace and diversity. And lastly, almost all had praised civics as a subject matter that requires practice and promotes collaborative and constructive learning. Throughout, their philosophies of citizenship and education for citizenship focused on the aim of preparing a citizen for the state – the Lebanese for Lebanon. Their conceptions of citizenship reflected a minimalist notion and their philosophies of teaching and learning showed little or no actualization in classroom practice which they discussed in further detail in the second part of this analysis.

5.1.1 On citizenship

After a minute of brief introductions, all 19 teachers described “citizenship”. In almost all cases, the teachers attributed citizenship to words like “responsibilities” and “commitments” to the country, Lebanon. And although they seemed to recite a common definition for citizenship, a Head Teacher for Social Studies reminded me that “the term citizenship doesn’t exist as a title in the book”, so “the idea of citizenship” is “collected from various places” (CBJ10). Thus, it was interesting to see how teachers from various backgrounds managed to construct a common idea of citizenship which emphasizes the **national level as a solution for political confessionalism and emigration**. However, while teachers creatively illustrated citizenship using metaphors grounded in democratic principles, the actual practices they reflected on still raised several concerns including a **minimalist notion and exclusive participation**.

When the teachers described citizenship, they did not hesitate long to relate it to the relationship between the individual and the country. A teacher based this relationship on “the rights that the citizen takes from his country in return for the responsibilities he has towards the country (MSH)”. Indeed, through poetry and enthusiasm, one of the teachers expressed her views of citizenship as “to smell Lebanon and breathe Lebanon in everything” (CBJ11) which echoed in the large empty classroom. And in another school, a teacher similarly emphasized that “the objective is the country” (DMM), which includes “protection of the country, respect of the country, improvement of the country”

(CBJ10). Moreover, citizenship “refers to the commitment to the country in good times and in bad times” (CBJ11). Throughout, they expressed an almost unconditional affection to the nation. The rationale behind this lies in nationalism being the solution for the troubles Lebanon faces.

The teachers emphasized this national-driven notion of citizenship to address the controversies of **political confessionalism** in providing the divided society a sense of nationalism from which to unify at. In a rather concerned tone of voice, a teacher shared her worries that “[people] are committed to a certain family or group more than being committed to their country” which has led to citizenship being a “neglected issue” that, when talked about, is discussed “with sort of extremism” (CBB22). An example of extremism which six teachers had distressed about pertained to “blind commitments” made to political parties and leaders. And as I argued in the first chapter on corruption as a result from this culture of political confessionalism, one of the teachers illustrated a practice of “blind commitment” by voting for someone based on their “identity” whose “work will only be for those from the same sect” (CNBz15). Thus, one of the teachers was worried that students “are more concerned about their religious and political identities” which occur at “a secondary level” and, thus, “control the students” (DMM). And due to the negative associations made with confessional identities and national debility, only one of the teachers encouraged “taking part in parties and organizations” and the importance of cultural identities “because they represent the freedom of identity” (DMM). Meanwhile, the vast majority stressed on the importance of students to “come out of that frame of mind of religious and political identities and see individuals as values in themselves” by putting the country first (MxBE). Another issue, which teachers less frequently talked about, related to emigration. Two of the teachers expressed concerns about the ongoing phenomena of students who “really want to emigrate” (CNBz16) “because they have lost faith in Lebanon” (CBJ10). “Even I, as a teacher, have lost hope in it. I wish I could travel and leave the country” (CNBz16). These attitudes of despair help us understand some of the reasons behind mass youth emigration which can potentially hinder national development as it results in a “brain drain”. Thus, according to the teachers, nationalism is the solution.

Teachers were adamant and assertive in overcoming political confessionalism and mass youth emigration through nationalism. One of the teachers characterized citizenship as “a cohesive agent that is supposed to tie us, as Lebanese, together” (MSE). Another illustrated this sense of unity by relating citizenship in a framework of a “united family” (CBJ10). So, when one “loves Lebanon before saying that he is affiliated with a party” (CNBz16), then “the citizen has to work for the sake of his country not for the sake of a certain religious or political sect” (DMM). Therefore, the school must “encourage students to love their country” (CNBz16). In addition to these nationalistic sentiments, some of the teachers focused on critical thinking as another approach to handling political confessionalism. By “being critical” to political identities (CNB), students can observe and analyze a situation and “make a decision which benefits the country” (CBB28) and “the public good” (DMM). For example, being critical would enable the students to “choose the right person for the right job” (CNBz15). The teachers, whether sitting in the hectic teacher’s lounge during break time or in confidence in a large empty classroom, raised several contentions related to nationalism and minimalist notions of citizenship.

The centrality of nationalism in their understandings of citizenship illustrated a **compromise with a global perspective**, a perspective that safeguards against social exclusion. Nationalism “offers diverse peoples a point of common and shared togetherness” and “a chance at loyalty to something bigger than themselves and their group” recognizing “similarities through culture, ancestry or history” (Encyclopedia of Nationalism, 2001, p. 362). As a positive force, nationalism has served as a movement for independence and democracy following imperial or totalitarian rule. For instance, nationalism in the Middle East [sic] “gained strength as empires dissolved, [or] withdrew” (Frisch, 2001, p. 486). In Lebanon, following the French mandate, nationalism played a reformatory role in reinforcing a Lebanese identity (cf Frayha, 2004) and, thus, provided common ground for its diverse communities in tensions and conflict. However, nationalism has also created pretexts for armed conflicts, racism and social exclusion. Guibernau (2007) points out that, in addition to its positive aspects, nationalism can also be “associated with those who advocate xenophobia and ethnic cleansing” (p. 177). This

occurs since “nationalist discourses...make a sharp distinction between national citizens and foreigners” (Osler & Starkey, 2005a, p. 20). From this, the focus on a citizenship within national borders raises controversy in the discourse on education for active citizenship.

Only three teachers talked about a type of citizenship that extended beyond national borders. With 37 years of teaching experience and as a part-time teacher trainer, this civics teacher highlighted that citizenship has a “social implication which goes beyond the country” (MBB). Another, discussed its purpose which stressed “the globalization we are witnessing” both on “national and international” levels (CBJ1021). However, a critical issue emerges when, presenting citizenship, only one teacher identifies the individual as “a human...regardless of sex, nationality and race” (CNBz15) in contrast to the Lebanese in Lebanon. Thus, the concentration of nationalism in their notions of citizenship that identifies the individual as a Lebanese rather than human being could begin to illustrate pretexts for social exclusion. Moreover, controversy lies in the considerations of a cosmopolitan citizenship grounded in universalism which may risk reducing the value of nationalism for solidarity and common ground. I further discuss these concerns in the latter half of this chapter.

A second concern relates to the **minimalist notions** of citizenship expressed by over half the teachers. One of the teachers enthusiastically emphasized the importance of relating to the symbols of the country such as “the flag, the cedar” and “when a student can respect these symbols”, “sings the national anthem”, votes, “gets an education” to help his country, and “draws something that relates to his country”, the students then “show me their sense of belonging” (CNB). Another teacher with a tone of assertiveness said that one feels Lebanese “when you abide by the laws...and offer services to the country...and when I get my identity card” (MxBE). Although following the law and promoting the Lebanese identity are crucial to the promotion of social cohesion and justice in Lebanon, teachers still portrayed minimalist notions of citizenship through conventional and symbolic practices at a single, national level.

Still, when the teachers spoke of citizenship, they spoke with emotion. Unanimously, the main aim of rights, responsibilities and participation was to promote the national Lebanese identity as a commonplace in a society fragmented by political and religious differences, threatened by the “brain drain” and continuously undermined by political confessionalism. And while their understandings of citizenship raised some concerns that relate to minimalist notions of identity and practice, they stressed on the importance of **education and the school** for citizenship learning. Also, their **philosophies of teaching and learning** present a range of passive and active practices of learning.

5.1.2 On education and the school

Teachers saw citizenship education as an **ongoing learning process** starting from childhood and onwards to adulthood. The teacher (CBJ11) who enjoyed poetic metaphors compared education for citizenship to “planting”. You will not get the “harvest” right away, it “needs maturity”. Another teacher described the education process “like a cycle which begins at home and continues at school” (MSE). In addition to school and home, other factors too contribute to citizenship learning such as society and the media. The school “gives definitions and model behaviour”, at home students “see what their parents are doing” and, through the media, they “see what is happening” in Lebanon which is “unstable” at the moment (CBB28). Moreover, civics in Lebanon covers media extensively in one of the units of its civics text books. However, these external factors like home and the media can also pose as threats. With concern, a teacher said “the problem is that you cannot know what is happening at home” (MSE). Similarly, the teacher who was “harvesting” also felt, “I can plant and then I leave the rest for the circumstances” (CBJ11). Here, many of the other teachers felt that while **society, family and peers played key roles** in citizenship development, they were also, to an extent, **potential threats to learning active citizenship**. Still, these teachers focused on the school’s important functions in one’s citizenship development.

The school, according to these teachers, provides the child opportunities to grow through its **characteristics of a micro-community**. Learning citizenship requires schooling from

early years before the child enters “the big community which is his country” (CBB22). Most commonly, several teachers felt that “the school is the students’ second home” (DMM). Furthermore, they characterized the school as “a small community which the student lives in” (MSH); “it comes right after the home” (CBJ11). Another teacher described the school “like a small nation” where students learn behaviours they see from their teachers (CBB28). Whether a home or small nation, the school “is the main place where the child grows and lives”; therefore, it is the ideal place to “change or create mentalities” (CBB22). And in this particular place, or “building specified for education”, “students learn to implement laws and regulations” and teachers “teach them to abide by the ethics through emphasizing their faith in equality and not in discrimination” (MBB). These teachers, among others, illustrated the school as a critical place for citizenship learning, growth and development. Furthermore, they also felt that the school grounds its principles in equality and justice to prepare the child for the outside community, more specifically, the diverse Lebanese society.

When describing the aims of education for citizenship in Lebanon, the teachers raised the importance of considering the diversities in Lebanon. One of the civics teachers in a school farthest from the capital presented the context, “Our Lebanese community is based on religious and political diversification and each citizen belongs to a certain political or religious identity” (DMM). And since “it is important to take this into consideration”, she believes that, through citizenship education, “we are preparing for a democratic community and therefore we are obliged to accept and respect others”. More than half the other teachers expressed similar views where the aim of teaching civics is to prepare students how to live with others. In learning to deal with others, “we have to know other religions so we can be open and know how to talk to each other” (MBE). Moreover, as a consequence of the diversities and conflicts in Lebanon, two teachers identified “forgiveness” and “acceptance” as core values (MSE, DMM). And for the teachers who showed concerns for students who were “committed to certain parties or sects blindly”, citizenship education should teach students to “think, analyze and look at both advantages and disadvantages” (MBA). Besides having social, political and religious diversities to respond to, citizenship education, according to 13 of the 19 teachers, must

also have “a great focus on environment” (MNE). The teacher with over 37 years experience highlighted that the “environment is a global issue” (MBB). Consistent with nationalism as the primary drive, education, according to these teachers, provides the students with learning opportunities that address political confessionalism and social reconstruction. With one of the teacher’s reference to environment as a global issue, we can start to identify a particular avenue through which the Lebanese culture may relate to a global or cosmopolitan identity, a level beyond the national one. The next themes present their understandings of civic education inside the classroom and their philosophies of teaching and learning.

5.1.3 Civic education

Most of the civics teachers described civics by comparing it with other subjects like history, geography and sociology since the majority of the teachers also taught these subjects. “In other field of studies, students are passive. In civics, they like it because they are collaborating” (DMM). Furthermore, several other teachers pointed out the uniqueness of civics since students have opportunities to express themselves. “Students can’t wait to start this class because we can freely talk about other things. They can’t do this in other classes” (MxBE). Furthermore, a young teacher in the south strongly believes that since “all the explanations are based on discussions”, civics is indeed a “dialogic subject” (MSH). However, she felt that because of exams, “we can’t keep getting the students used to dialogue, dialogue, dialogue”. Other teachers felt similar tensions. One felt that her students “don’t like” history and geography “because they’re dry; and civics is even drier” since “there is no understanding, all memorization” (CNBz16). A young male civics teacher told me that he feels “civics is boring” due to the lack of learning resources (MxBE). While many of the teachers see civics class as a **unique educational experience for collaborating and expressing views**, several others see that particular limitations actually causes civics to become a **“dry” or boring subject**. Teachers also discussed more specifically their values on teaching and learning approaches and their roles as teachers and facilitator inside the classroom.

5.1.4 Teaching and learning civics

All the teachers discussed the importance of learning skills and “to experience what they are learning on ground” (DMM). To learn civics, as more than half the teachers argued, students should be “living it in the classroom and in the school” (MSE). One teacher emphasized the importance of “living the lesson...through analyzing” and applying it (MSE). Thus, the practice “reinforces the concepts...because if someone does not apply them, they become useless” (MSH). So, as teachers expressed, “you cannot just walk into a class and teach” the traditional or conventional way; “you have to involve them” (MNE). Also civics “needs to be able to give them opportunities to explore” how we “respect the laws”, live “with other people” and “see how others think” (MxBE). And one of the main ways to do this is through “dialogue, not argumentation” (CNB). Therefore, as almost all teachers illustrated, civics tries to “create a sense of citizenship with the students” by letting them “debate and discuss”, “look at others’ ideas in a respectful way” (CNBz15), “interact with the students”, “collaboration in the class” and “exchange ideas and opinions about different subjects” (DMM). And outside the classroom, students could “take part in local activities organized by the Red Cross, Civil Defense Department and environmental associations” to see how existing institutions “aim for the public good rather than for the interest of particular groups or parties” (DMM). In learning and experiencing these skills and attitudes, teachers described constructivist practices and memorization as primary approaches to learning inside the classroom.

More than half the teachers praised the constructivist approach prescribed in the revised 1997 national curriculum which appears to suggest ways of students expressing pre-conceptions as an initial stage in learning. So, in order for the students “to be convinced that they are doing right...I encourage them to talk and express themselves in class” (MBE). Indeed, similar to Freire’s (1970) arguments, banking any information would be harmful. “I’m not going to tell them what is right because I’d be doing harm” (MBE). So, as a teacher expressed in detail,

[Teach] without your personal thoughts...telling them what you know and them having to take it, no. It would then be

useless. But if they came up with the analyses and solutions of the problems, I believe they would understand it much faster and easier (MSH).

Therefore, almost all the teachers talked about the importance of having “ideas come from the students rather than the teachers”; the students will “like it more” (MSE). However, while the same teachers clearly expressed views that “education is not memorization” and that learning is based on “understanding, analysis and discussions” (CNB), they still underlined some parts of civic education that “need to be memorized” (MSH).

More than half the teachers described how memorization was an integral part of learning civics. Although “civics is practice, not for memorization” (MNE), most of the same teachers, some with hesitation, argued that “there are really important things they **have** to memorize” (CNB, emphasis in bold by teacher). These include “human rights”, “judicial topics” (CNBz15), “government systems” (MBA), “some definitions” (CBB28) and “laws” (MBE, CBB22) and, in grade 12, “the democratic regime, media, elections, environment, immigrants and the Labour Act which all require memorization” (CBJ10). However, several of the teachers felt that memorization comes after understanding. “If there is something I don’t understand, I cannot memorize it” and, since “I don’t want parrot talk”, understanding the concepts before memorizing them allows the students to show meaning when discussing memorized concepts and terminologies (CNBz15). She continued, “This is our aim, to have the children memorize things they need to say”. Still, less than a quarter of the teachers said they “never ask students to memorize” (MSE). From this, we see pedagogical tensions between attitudes towards learning civic education through practice and learning content knowledge through memorization.

Lastly, in their philosophies of teaching, teachers talked about what they perceived their roles as civics teachers to be. Almost all teachers described their roles in the context of class discussions and debates which, as some stated, are practices of the children’s rights since “we all have our freedoms of opinion and thought” (CNBz15). One of the teachers felt that what happens in class should model a democratic society. For instance, “when I

raise a certain issue, I ask them to give their personal opinion and freely express their ideas” (DMM). Through this, she tries “to teach them democratic behaviour inside the class – a very important value” (DMM). Another said that her role was to “guide the discussions especially when there are people giving their opinions” (MSH). Guiding the debates would prevent “chaos, noise and aggressive word towards each other” (MSH). Moreover, in guiding, teachers emphasized the importance of being neutral. “We have no right to impose our opinions on others” (DMM). Instead, she felt her role was to “shed light” on the topics so as to “lighten the debate” and have it based on “logic and civility so that it doesn’t lead to conflict” (DMM). However, when conflicts did emerge, and the majority of the teachers did mention unruly lessons that resulted from tense discussions, they had to “to control discussions” (MBE) through behaviour management. Furthermore, one teacher felt that “the most important thing is to reach a conclusion” (DMM), a head teacher felt that “it wasn’t important that they agree” (CBJ11). Instead, she felt that it was more important to listen to others “till the end” and not “interrupt [the other] halfway but respect their point of view”; “although there are conflicts and differences, there are basics we cannot ignore”. And if debates become too chaotic, then the teacher should be able to “stop the debate” (CNBz15). However, one of the teachers appeared quite irritated at the idea of in-class debates and thus argued that teachers should **prevent** debates from happening since students “might clash” (MBA). Still, for those who supported them, they emphasized the importance of remaining neutral, indicated potential conflicts in their understandings between guiding and controlling debates and, regarding process and outcome, either valued one over the other or found the two to be equally important.

Other teachers added that their role was not only preparing students to “take the test”, but “it’s in how much we can touch you inside deeply; this is when we succeed” (CBJ11). A small but notable group of the teachers felt that they had a responsibility to be close with the students. A healthy teacher-student relationship would motivate the students to enjoy the subject (MNE), an personal/humanistic approach to learning advocated by the psychotherapist, Carl Rogers (cf Rogers, 1983).

5.1.5 Summary of teachers' understandings and philosophies

In this first of four sets of findings (the other three being Factors, Incidents and Suggestions), these 19 teachers shared with me their understandings of citizenship and philosophies of education for citizenship and teaching and learning. I have observed two main findings from these discussions so far. Firstly, their responses begin to illustrate **a range of maximal and minimal notions of feelings and practices**, McLaughlin's spectrum of degrees of citizenship as presented at the start of the second chapter. The teachers mainly illustrated maximal notions of citizenship by emphasizing the importance of providing for the public good through the Lebanese national identity in contrast to private and confessional benefits. And although they made minimal reference to an identity beyond the national level, we are still able to identify the environment as an issue that brings out feelings on the global level. Also, nearly all teachers showed minimalist notions by focusing quite considerably on participation at the local and legal level such as following laws and identifying with national symbols such as the anthem, cedar and flag.

Secondly, the relationships between their understandings of citizenship and their philosophies of teaching and learning start to bring out some initial tensions. While they stressed the importance of active and democratic participation and its educational means of constructive, collaborative and dialogic learning, they still emphasized heavily the necessity of memorization. In understanding these contradictions, we can start by looking at their discussions of the curriculum timetable and government exams as contributing factors. In the following second set of findings, the 19 teachers describe in detail the factors that have challenged the learning of citizenship inside the classroom and, at the same time, allowed for positive teaching and learning opportunities with the students.

5.2 Factors that influence the teaching and learning of civics

Earlier, a teacher gave the metaphor of education being a harvest. However, with numerous factors involved, "we are planting in school, but we don't know how the harvest will be" (CBJ11). Teachers discussed issues concerning curriculum and textbook,

assessment practices, personal factors from teachers and students and features of institutions as contributing factors that influenced the teaching and learning of civic education in the classroom.

5.2.1 The civics textbook and its topics

Many of the teachers praised the 1997 revised curriculum that introduced appendices, activities and “a new teaching method” which required teachers to inquire about the students’ preconceptions prior to giving the lesson – a constructivist approach to learning. However, they also pointed out particular features such as the textbook and its topics, timetable and language of instruction that challenge civics teaching.

A teacher (CBB28) opened up the civics textbook and read, “The aims of this subject are not only to teach the student information, but also the realization of good moral views based on national beliefs”. The nine general aims, presented in Table 1.3, lists these nation-centred aims and beliefs which include work ethics, social spirit, Lebanese and Arab identities, equality and skills to “critique, debate and accept the other” (Ministry of Education, 1997). Thus, the teacher felt that the civics textbook “aims at guiding the students towards the concept of citizenship”. In addition to its aims, the teacher with 37 years teaching experience (MBB) saw other positive changes in the textbook with lessons divided into numerous sections introduced with learning objectives. These learning objectives “should be written on the board” and focused on since they also appear in the government exams. This teacher also highlighted that “there are some things that need a bit of memorization”. But, the book now has “additional tools to facilitate learning” such as case studies presented with appendices such as tables, diagrams and documents requiring the students to be analytical. Also, the teacher described new topics that were added to the book that involve more global issues such as the environment and globalization. While the new curriculum and civics textbook focused on creating a citizen for the state through national and democratic values and constructive learning principles, repetition of topics across the curriculum presented obstacles in learning.

The difficulties that teachers mainly found in the textbook included the repetition of topics, contradictions with reality and conduciveness to passive learning. While the subject “should introduce them to general ethical, political, moral and civil culture in addition to the formation of the individual’s personality”; however, “we feel that students are bored of repetition and the book is not up to the task” (CBJ10). This teacher, who teaches three consecutive year levels, said with concern, “All three teach the same thing; the same contents in the three books” and so the “students find that the book is very boring to them” (CBJ10). A young male teacher in Beirut explained that “there are some lessons which are included in many grades’ curriculums. Lessons in grades seven and eight are found also in grades 9 and 10 but just a bit more expanded” (MxBE). And although the “same lesson is introduced in many grades” and expanded on, one of the teachers expressed, “there’s no significant difference” (MSE). Hence, we see a horizontal spiral curriculum that appears to have space for more vertical inclination. Besides repetition within the civics curriculum, some civics teachers who also teach sociology find repetition in civics and sociology. One has identified numerous topics that are repeated in both subjects and, as a result, “I wish they could put them in the same book” (CNBz16). Furthermore, some topics oftentimes appeared too idealistic to students and, as a result, teachers were faced with resistance from students.

Some teachers experienced difficulties with the presentation of the topics in the textbook. They felt that the book presents ideals and theories rather than realities and, thus, creates tensions with the teachers and students since it appears to emerge as contradictory or hypocritical. For example, one of the teachers recalled a time when he once pointed out a section in the book that says “there are no connections (*wāstas*) to help you work or pass exams” (MNE). He found that students immediately disagreed with this and it appeared to frustrate them even more questioning why the book only discusses ideal situations and not real ones. Another teacher (MSE) gave out a short laugh when reflecting a students’ reaction during a lesson on laws, democracy and rights, “Where do you think you are, Switzerland?” In an “incident I’ll never forget”, during a time several journalists were assassinated, students “refused to learn civics” and protested, “Why do we have to study civics? Look at what they’re doing. They killed journalists who were freely expressing

their opinions” (CBB28). One teacher remembered a discussion on democracy where one of the students “stood up and said, ‘Miss, stop wasting your time. You get excited about this democracy issue, but, sorry, it’s all a joke. Look at what’s happening, there’s nothing of the sort’” (CBB22). Nearly all 19 teachers gave examples on how students expressed resistance to learning civics and how the **low-levels of motivation come from the paradoxes found** in what the textbook presents and what the students see in the real world.

The majority of the teachers described how the book presents claims and suggestions and not enough discussions of real-life situations. Thus, the topics come out as theories and, consequently, strengthen disagreement with the subject since the book makes “no connection between theories and practice” (CNBz15). For instance, this teacher presented a lesson on rights and duties and whereas “understanding it all in theory is really nice and it really guides the development of society”, tensions arise because “when we look at reality...the government is not giving citizens their rights”. So, since the book does not confront controversial or real-life issues in Lebanon, the topics presented as concepts are interpreted as theoretical, ideal and even hypocritical resulting in negative associations toward the book. Later on, in the section on critical incidents, teachers discuss these negativities again when students find the concepts and the whole subject an ideal and waste of time. While teachers found difficulty in working with students’ perceptions of a hypocritical textbook, teachers also felt that some topics required surface approaches to learning.

Some teachers found limitations in teaching some particular topics and thus resorted to memorization and lectures. A teacher (MBA) illustrated this by explaining that the pedagogy in the class depended on the topic. She continued, “There are certain things they have to memorize” such as “government systems, what does parliament mean, how the president is elected, how we elect deputies and they elect the president”, “certain laws” and “what are democratic systems and other leadership systems?” Another teacher noted that while students would analyze case studies, certain terminologies “come out in our discussions” which “have to memorize because they cannot do without” (CNB). In

addition to terminologies, a teacher felt that students also had to memorize the lesson on laws because they are “really, really hard” and “very technical and difficult” (MNE) and since “I cannot change them nor interpret them the way I want, they have to memorize it” (CBB22). Besides the memorization of laws and government systems, some of the teachers found difficulty in teaching morals and values. “How are you supposed to teach the value of honesty?” Because having a lesson “just on the values...becomes lecturing” (CBJ11). Hence, teachers felt that certain topics did not have room for discussions such as laws and so they found no other option but to have the students memorize them. Also, topics that concern moral education and values came out as lectures. Therefore, as some teachers found necessary, they had to plan activities to keep the students engaged.

Due to the repetition of topics, interpreting contradictions and the view of having lessons that need memorization, teachers found that they need to provide, by themselves, supplementary activities to keep the students engaged, motivated and interested in the subject. A teacher explained that because civics has “boring material”, the subject “should be stimulated by discussions and debates and [students] giving their opinions to add some flavour to it” (MSH). In another school, a teacher found freedom to engage the students in projects on topics like “immigration and elections which are not necessarily included in the curriculum” (DMM). She found that students responded to these activities by showing interest. Another teacher found that “students find it easy when we are actually doing things” (MSE). In addition to providing additional exercises, teachers also found it important to find supplementary material. Although “there are some things you can explain by the book”, there are other topics like “the Arab-Israeli conflict” that needs more material, so “I have to do my own research for this lesson” (MxMB). Thus, “the teacher plays a major role in creating new exercises and new topics” (CBJ10).

5.2.2 Civics only once a week

Many teachers found having civics once a week further challenged their teaching and the students’ learning. “Civics is meant to be taught by involving students in society but we are not able to do it because of the limited number of hours and the large number of

materials in this subject” (MNE). One social studies coordinator found the program of study “very long” leaving no room for activities; especially when “we have about 25 weeks of school with 32 [civics] lessons” (CBJ11). In addition, the books comprise several topics that “need two classes, but they’ve written only one for it” (CNBz15). And “because civics is one hour a week”, students “don’t like to think it’s a good subject, it’s just for passing time” (MNE). So, the teachers experience difficulties in motivating students and fulfilling the aims of citizenship education with a limited time of one hour a week for civics. In response to this, one of the teachers, through her position as a coordinator, would “take out some lessons from the curriculum” and replace them with “activities and projects we want to do”, except for grades 9 and 12 since they prepare for the official exams (CBJ11). Hence, we begin to see how the official exams also contribute to the limitations of learning citizenship in schools. Further along, teachers discuss in more detail issues related to assessment.

5.2.3 Language of instruction

The mode of instruction for civics is Arabic. While only 2 of the 19 teachers reflected on this as a challenge, a controversy still begins to emerge. A teacher felt that, sometimes, “the language of the book is slightly higher than the students’ levels” (CBB28). However, another teacher insisted that civics should remain in Arabic “because if we are studying about civics in Lebanon our [native] language comes first” (CBJ11). From the teachers’ viewpoints, students find difficulty in terminologies of the classical Arabic which differ from the informal spoken dialect. Also, the mode of instruction being only in Arabic raises a contention of nationalism, especially when the nature of the subject matter aims at inclusion and social cohesion within a multilingual context of Arabic, English and French speakers. In addition, as I will present in the seventh chapter, the students’ experiences demonstrate more serious implications of civics being taught only in Arabic.

The design of the civics curriculum and its textbook raises initial concerns on the implications of the subject’s ability to meet its educational aims. From the interviews, the teachers’ reflections illustrated their difficulties in teaching civics through limited

resources, a constrictive timetable and horizontally spiralling curriculum. They also described how the books' avoidance of explicitly dealing with current tensions and conflicts in the Lebanese context created a sense of bitterness towards the subject. Furthermore, the traditions of passive learning begin to explain the difficulty of introducing open-ended, real-life topics that do not have conclusions to memorize. Other conflicting themes also surfaced such as language and the concerns for nationalism and inclusion and existing traditions of memorization. In the next section, teachers talked about assessment and its influences on citizenship learning.

5.2.4 Assessment issues and practices

Across the literature on assessment and pedagogy, writers quite frequently use the phrase "assessment drives learning" as a cornerstone of their argument. In a way, assessment even drove the selection of the sample set. As I mentioned in the preceding methodology chapter, the government administers the official exams to years 9 and 12 and, therefore, my interest was to research years 10 and 11 since they have, to an extent, more teaching and learning freedoms in their classrooms. However, all 19 teachers still described assessment issues and practices across years 9 to 12. From their discussions, we see a distinction between the year groups 9 and 12 and years 10 and 11. Across the four grade levels, however, assessment still directs the teaching and learning activities that take place in the classroom and influences the attitudes students and the school have on civics as a subject matter. In particular, civics learning in grades 9 and 12 is mainly geared toward official exams.

Nearly all the teachers interviewed described the limitations of teaching and learning activities in grades 9 and 12. "Grades 9 and 12 have official exams. That's why we cannot work as much with them as we can with others because we are required to finish the curriculum (MSE)." Another teacher explained how "in grade nine, I didn't have time to arrange many activities because there aren't enough classes"; actually, in years 9 and 12, "we're having extra sessions" to prepare for the exams (CBJ11). While classroom teaching for these two years was restricted to teaching for the test, the majority of

teachers gave examples of activities and projects in years 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11. Also, the government exams drive the allocation of teachers to classrooms. One teacher described how schools place the experienced teachers for 9 and 12 and the newer ones for 10 and 11 (MNE). As a new teacher himself, he chuckled and said that although teaching grade 12 may seem like a “privilege”, it is also a “drawback” to the teacher because “it’s their last year and they do lots of troubles”. Not only do the official exams influence **who teaches** the class, but also **how it is taught** with more surface approaches to learning in grades 9 and 12. Another teacher recognized this tension between the new curriculum and the official exam, “The main aim of the new curriculum is to let the students think by themselves, but in the grades 9 and 12 they ask them about things they have memorized, this is a contradiction” (MxMB). The next three cases in point demonstrate consequences of assessment, not just from official exams, but also from assessment practices in school.

Firstly, assessment has lowered the stakes of civics as a subject. One teacher pointed out that regardless of the students’ interest in the subject, their “main issue is the grades” and since “the coefficient of the grades [for civics] is not very high”, “it’s not a major subject” (CBJ11). Consequently, as a teacher explained, students see civics as “non-profitable” and thus do not feel “interested in the subject” and “won’t give it time” (CBB22). Instead, subjects like math and science come out more valuable since they have a higher percentage in the overall grade scheme. Besides low levels of interest from the students, even the school treats it poorly since it allows “anyone to teach it” and sometimes allocates civics as a “supplementary class; if there’s time, it’s given” (CBB22). Hence, some schools and even students see it as “an extra hour” (MxBE). This teacher continues to illustrate this and says,

If a math teacher needs extra time, they’ll say, ‘take the civics hour’. What? Is civics a replacement class? No one is giving it its importance. Even the students start to see it like this, they’ll ask, ‘oh sir, can we do our homework?’ So, the challenge is how do we raise the stakes of this subject?

Thus, civics’ low-stake testing status plays a significant role in leading to it being a low-stake subject, especially when the status comes from perception. Madaus (1988) argues,

“The greater the stakes perceived to be linked to test results, the greater the impact on instruction and learning” (pp. 88-89). Furthermore, assessment practices have also limited the activities for critical thinking and active learning.

From the pressures of examiners and achieving high marks, teachers feel that assessment has negatively impacted students’ confidence in critical thinking and the teachers’ wills to facilitate active learning. One teacher talked about the limitations of the government exam due to **fears of the political backgrounds of the examiners**. For instance, “if a student will suggest that the government should be improved and corruption must be stopped and deputies have to resign” an examiner with a certain political disposition “will get annoyed and annul the student’s answer” (CNBz16). As a result, she asks students to remain “neutral, not extremist, and to express neutral opinions.”

In addition to official exams, the aim of achieving high marks through classroom testing seems to limit the teaching and learning activities. One of the teachers told me she prepares most of the lessons and the tests based on “memorized concepts” because she feels “it’s easier for them to answer these questions” and “personally, I like to help students achieve high grades” (CNBz16). Indeed, she believes that memorizing for accurate recall during tests would benefit the children since she believes that **achieving good marks through rote learning is easier** than testing their understandings. So, she wants “to focus more on grades. We want to put understanding aside and tell the students to memorize more”. However, she noted that students complain, “But Miss, we’ve spent the classes discussing; why don’t we get tested on understanding?” In another scenario, a young male teacher described how students failed a test when he did not provide them with the outlines he normally gives them. For a class test, he tried “to make them answer by themselves without giving them outlines. They were lost. They couldn’t memorize anything...they failed” (MNE). This teacher interpreted the case as a proof that students need teachers to provide them with the exact material to be tested. Educationalists, however, would interpret this as an example that illustrates one of the many detrimental outcomes of creating dependencies on the teacher for learning, a contrast to promoting learner responsibility as argued by Carnell & Lodge (2002) and Watkins et al. (2007).

Lastly, we see teachers having a certain degree of resistance to active learning. While some recognized the benefits of dialogic and critical learning, they still centre classroom pedagogies on memorization for the purpose of passing exams. Civics “is a dialogic subject”; however, “some concepts need to be memorized because we have official exams coming up” (MSH). So, she strongly believes that if the students only “got used to dialogue, dialogue, dialogue” then they would not “reach the diploma” at the end. Another teacher said that, in class, he assesses students by asking them to “write a paragraph which shows what forgiveness is” and those that understand the lesson “will take a good grade”, “but this won’t work in official exams” (MxBE). However, among the 19 teachers, only one argued that students can pass the official exam without memorization, “They are not required to memorize” (MxMB). Indeed, the previous civics official exam paper for 2007 (see Appendix M) comprises eight questions: the first four testing knowledge of definitions and the latter four on analysis and interpretation. However, the **access** to the answer keys (see Appendices P₁-P₄) appears to promote rote learning more than the questions themselves. Still, the teachers have emphasized the importance of memorization to pass classroom and official exams. Hence, assessment has clearly driven teaching to promote a surface approach to learning. As a consequence, the aims of civic education may not be achieved since, according to Hargreaves & Fink (2006), extreme emphasis on externally imposed targets can significantly steer individuals from the fundamental intentions, meanings and purposes.

Among the factors that influenced civics teaching inside the classroom, the teachers also discussed personal aspects that they felt contributed to pedagogy. From this personal or, as Carl Rogers (1983), the psychotherapist turned educationalist, refers to as, humanistic perspective, the teachers describe the features that they and students bring to the classroom as individuals. Furthermore, these features shed light on some issues that either challenge or promote civics learning.

5.2.5 Teachers' inputs to the classroom

The teachers reflected on their own personal attributes that influence the teaching and learning that occurred in the civics classroom. These include their concerns about being neutral and about the extent to which they enter the classroom with the necessary skills and training to teach civic education.

More than half the teachers talked about the importance of remaining neutral and objective when talking about sensitive issues. Yet, in following this through, they found that their personal values interfered. Several teachers mentioned how some of the topics emotionally affect them. For instance, a teacher in an all-girls Catholic school reflected on the time she talked to her class about the injustices of women in India and China. "These topics disturb me and I don't like to raise them. I feel bad for these women and I feel embarrassed to explain these issues to students" (CBJ10). However, she still valued its educational purposes and said, "I'm not ignoring them because I'm aware of their importance to students". In another case, several teachers shared with me the difficulties of handling their own personal feelings towards the lesson on the "Special relationship between Lebanon and Syria". While one of the teachers simply felt that "This needs to be removed!" (MxBE), another expressed her criticisms of this topic. She not only questioned the meaning of 'special', but also rejected the idea of there being any special relationship between Syria and Lebanon, "What Syria did in Lebanon didn't show anything that would lead to special relations" (CBJ11). The teacher then said that she told the students they could study this topic on their own since those writing the government exam, too, did not feel this to be a viable topic to learn. While she found it difficult to separate her personal political views from teaching the lesson, she told me that she still made it clear to the students that they need to make up their own minds at the end. This case raises certain challenges in teaching controversial issues. It illustrates the difficulties of teachers emotionally detaching themselves from controversial topics that are raised in class. Moreover, it appears evident that a culture of knowledge transference further challenges teacher objectivity where the teacher takes a position when guiding dialogic activities among the students.

None of the 19 teachers received formal civics training. They had specialized in subjects such as geography, philosophy, Arabic, history, law and sociology. Instead, nearly half of the teachers explained that they trained themselves either through teaching in the school, reading extensively on themes related to the subject or studied “with the help of a lawyer” (CBB28). However, one teacher finds this a form of negligence towards the subject since “it was very common that any teacher could teach this subject because they didn’t know how important or valuable this subject was” (CBB22). “They asked me to teach it and I said, ‘Why not?’” (CNB). However, nearly all the teachers still felt confident in teaching since civics had “common themes and topics” (CNBz15) with their own expertise, namely sociology, law, history and philosophy. Another factor that limited their professional development coming into the classroom related to their own civics learning, or lack of. Almost all the teachers interviewed did not take civics when they were in school. “We didn’t have this subject at all, it was only in public schools” (MNE). And in another well-established mixed private school, a civics teacher said, “I have been teaching here for 18 years in this school and we have never taught civics until now (MxMB). So, the absence of training to teach a subject dealing with controversial topics and the lack of experience in learning civics further limit the skills and experiences that teachers could bring into a civics classroom. In addition, teachers also described the students’ personal experiences, motivations and competences as inputs to the classroom.

5.2.6 Teachers’ conceptions of students’ inputs to classroom

The teachers value the experiences and ideas that students bring to the class. However, teachers also talked about their perceptions of students’ limitations which end up determining the type of learning that happens in the classroom.

The majority of the teachers expressed their values for student experiences which provide rich contributions to classroom learning. There are some things that the students “are living everyday” which are sometimes brought into the class and lead to “positive learning experiences” (MNE). They “ask a lot of questions” and “some watch the news”

(CNBz16). One teacher described the “unbelievable information” the year 10 students bring to class and that “many times, they have ideas better than ours” (CNB). Thus, “I rely a lot on personal examples” (MBE). But this teacher finds that the students’ experiences that contradict the lesson in the book negatively contribute to the civics class. For example, during a discussion on electricity bills, one student told her, “We don’t pay electricity bills” and another said, “Miss, we don’t pay council tax”. Since the lesson presented duties of the citizen that included paying bills and council tax, she felt that the student who did give examples that supported the lesson “becomes a contributor”. This teacher’s viewpoint of **contradictions to concepts of democratic citizenship being negative rather than constructive** components to classroom learning closely relates to one of the tensions found in the curriculum and textbooks which approaches citizenship education by teaching ideals rather than engaging in real-life controversies.

Still, in general, teachers described their students as highly motivated. “They have concerns, they love their country, they like other people” (MNE). A teacher described their “certain openness...towards objectivity...which is really impressing me” (CBJ10). She strongly feels that, in general, “students are no longer close minded...regardless of the fact that each is committed to a certain party or sect, [they] all have the same target” (CBJ10). However, students still do have personal values that do result in tensions and conflicts inside the classroom. I illustrated this at the opening of the first chapter of this thesis with students classifying individuals into political parties. I provide more examples and a discussion on this in the third part of this chapter under “Critical incidents”. While teachers praised the students’ levels of motivation and engagement, they described how their perceptions of students’ abilities influence the teaching and learning activities inside the classroom.

Less than half the teachers distinguished students from each other in their capabilities for learning. In one of the schools, I returned the following day for a second visit and the teacher said,

“Yesterday after you left the students asked me, ‘Why aren’t we allowed to talk politics because this is

democratic.’ In told them that they’re afraid of you talking politics because you do not know much about politics and that you have taken a lot of what your parents say and any joke can evoke a clash between you” (CBJ11).

Whether this belief came from the teacher herself or from conversations among her colleagues, she still expressed a perspective commonly found among the teachers interviewed that students do not have the capabilities of being political or even engaging in particular activities of learning. As another teacher illustrated, students “are not required to memorize” civics for the official exam and can pass without memorization; however, she argued that “there are some students who don’t have effective skills to understand; thus, they are required to memorize” (MxMB). More typically, though, teachers felt that younger students did not have the abilities to learn through active learning and thus required memorization. One teacher felt that students in the eighth grade “are still not able to express their ideas; that’s why I ask them to memorize” while the “older ones are able to express their opinions in their own language and style” (MBA). In another school, a teacher complained about her “hyper-excited” sixth graders who are “more active than necessary” because “they take the information but they can’t apply them” (CNB). In her efforts with them, “I tried like how I always do – go inside, explain...but then about after 20 to 30 minutes, they start talking, no control”. While her year 10 students who “are very active as well”, they still “discuss a lot” and have lots to bring to the class.

These recollections raise numerous issues and concerns related to teaching skills for certain age groups typically developed through teacher training. Moreover, it seems that the lack of teacher training has resulted in teachers assigning memorization strategies for younger students with an intention of making learning easier for them. From a critical perspective, I question the extent to which the underpinning intention is to actually make **teaching easier for the teachers.**

5.2.7 School, society and home as influential institutions

So far, I have discussed teachers' reflections on educational and personal factors that influence the teaching and learning of the civics classroom. They illustrated their values for dialogic and experiential learning and the motivations and experiences students can potentially bring to the classroom. Through limitations or contradictions, they also demonstrated how curriculum design, learning and assessment practices drive a culture of memorization and, more intriguingly, vice versa. Furthermore, immediately surrounding the classroom, existing institutions also play critical roles in civics teaching and learning. Teachers talked about school, home and society.

Teachers presented the school as an institution that provided a context for learning citizenship for diversity and, at the same time, limitations in practicing the skills necessary for active participation. One teacher, from a mixed school, commented on how the mixed composition, students from "different religious beliefs", has created "impressive" behaviour in the class (MxBE). He also observed how the students "cover for each other...if someone made a mistake"; "this is an ideal example of co-existence". In a more religious-based school, a teacher found that its religious values reinforced principles of citizenship education such as love and virtue and also helped diffuse emotional tensions after controversial debates where "right after political talks, things relax" (CBJ10). A teacher in a mixed school felt that its diverse make-up socialized the children for co-existence and that religious values found in another school reinforced those of participative citizenship. However, other teachers discussed their objection to a policy that prohibits political discussions in the classroom and highlighted school as a static institution, hindering practices of real-life behaviours.

More than half the teachers pointed out that it is against school policy and the law to have political conversations in the classroom. "The school's policy forbids political conversations inside the class; this policy is right but you cannot because in the first-secondary class we have a lesson about political parties and groups" (CNBz16). As another teacher clarified this further, the purpose of this policy is to protect the students

from teachers “show[ing] sides for a particular person or party” even though “when I come in to teach civics, and I have a topic on politics, I am **expected** to talk about politics” (CNBz15). Therefore, the previous teacher (CNBz16) expressed the importance of the government passing a law permitting the discussion of politics in the classroom especially when in the national curriculum and the civics book include lessons on politics, political parties and government systems. However, I inquired into the decree that legally forbids political discussions in schools and, in response, Frayha (2008), a leading researcher on citizenship education in Lebanon, replied, “I am sure there is no law forbidding students from political discussions” although “it is unwritten policy” to avoid “conflicts and problems” and teachers trying to “indoctrinate students”. A prominent law firm in Lebanon confirmed that such a decree does not exist. Thus, to an extent, schools and teachers reinforce a myth of the illegality of political discussions inside the classrooms to avoid tensions and conflicts.

On the one hand, engaging in political discussions, a controversial element of Lebanese culture, has been associated to internal conflicts. In education, political dialogues, especially led by teachers, can threaten the Lebanese and Arab identities as aims in creating a common ground for political differences. However, on the other hand, dialogic engagement is a critical component in citizenship education for active participation. And, as only one of the teachers noted, if students do not have opportunities to practice these skills in schools, then they will perceive them as merely theoretical concepts and, therefore, expecting them to practice active citizenship in “real life” will be nothing less than a gamble – “what happens later, I don’t know” (CBJ11). In addition to the school’s limitations, as an institution, to citizenship learning, the majority of the teachers highlighted other restraining factors from the inconsistencies between school, society and home.

All 19 teachers mentioned a degree of difficulty in teaching civics as a result of influences from society and home. “There is a big influence of the families, the streets, their surrounding; this influence is what is restricting our progress. It’s difficult, it’s really difficult” (MxMB). In particular, teachers focused on the paradoxes that their

students have argued about in class such as when political confessional groups or individuals get away with breaking laws for their own benefits. A disappointed teacher explained, “The law stops because of connections”; so when students leave school and go home or back in society they see the opposite (MxMB). Another teacher raised her concerns about inequality and how the culture of connections and networks can be exclusive and, consequently, demotivating. For instance, when people with little qualifications “are getting good job opportunities” because of “who they know”, others get demotivated to earn qualifications or even work hard (MBE). Other teachers have also shared this sense of demotivation that they have felt in their classroom. “One of the major problems I face is the lost faith in young generation. This lost faith in why we are studying; lost faith in that Lebanon will not improve; and thus the envy to those who can emigrate” (CBJ10). Especially when the class talks about the “freedom of the media” and the “democratic system”, she feels that “most of them are depressed and have no hope”. So, teachers have found that students interpret the troubles and corruptions of society as paradoxes and contradictions to what they are learning and, consequently, feel demotivated to learn or participate. Moreover, it is “very seldom” that a student expresses responsibilities to “stay in Lebanon” and “improve ourselves to get over this way of thinking” (CBJ10). On society, teachers only discussed tensions between it and citizenship learning; but with home, they balanced its relationship with civics by identifying conflicts of interest and benefits.

“At home, students see what their parents are doing” which plays a big role in developing or “creating the citizen” (CBB28). However, the “problem is that you cannot know what is happening at home” (MSE). Among the stories that the teachers told, students would give examples of their parents getting away with not paying electricity bills, council tax and other taxes. Also, social values talked about at school may be harder to learn at home like “forgiveness and acceptance” (DMM). Other lessons may appear controversial at home. Thus, “students might deliver the teachers’ ideas to their parents and...might involve problems between these parents and the school’s administration” (CBJ11). One teacher recalled a time when parents called the school to complain after a class discussion on religion and asked the teacher, “Don’t expand too much on this” (MBE). She

continued, “Parents fear that their children might change their beliefs” and “that the teacher is teaching them something different than what they learned at home”. However, schools and teachers also experience difficulties with non-Lebanese, European families. A teacher in a Christian school in a Muslim-dominated city in the south of Lebanon observed that the only complaints on teaching Christian values come from European parents working for international NGOs for humanitarian aid. While teachers feel challenged with reactions or fears of reactions from home, they also find that experiences from home greatly benefit civics learning. A teacher particularly enjoys “things that the students talk about that are really neat from their communities...and home” (DMM).

Society and home have emerged as critical factors that affect the teaching and learning of citizenship. Teachers tried to prescribe solutions that would minimize the negative impacts they would have on the classroom because, as one of the teachers argued, if there is no continuity with home and society, then you are just “filling up hours” – a Lebanese expression for wasting time (MNE). Another teacher felt that “while I’m teaching, I shouldn’t be teaching this student; I need to be teaching their mothers, fathers, the neighbours, so that the students can see them” (MBE). Like several others, she also focused on making changes in society, “I feel that the citizen in Lebanon cannot be an effective citizen because they don’t enforce these laws” and must “establish equality among all citizens”. This begins to emerge as a catch-22 – to teach active participation and democratic citizenship, the people must change society into a model community; but to construct a model democratic community, you must teach active participation and democratic citizenship. Possibly, the following comment might shed some light on unlocking this vicious circle. A teacher described the contradictions between society and education as “dangerous”; especially when you are “stuffing the child with information” because when they see opposites in reality, they can’t use the knowledge to practice. Within this comment lies a critical aspect of citizenship learning that continues to emerge throughout these findings: the dominant pedagogy of knowledge transference with the **expectation** of practice. However, these initial findings to understanding the vicious cycle require deeper insights which teachers now provide in the following third part of this four-part chapter.

5.3 Critical incidents inside the classroom

Teachers recalled experiences they considered challenging as well as good practices. Their recollections included activities mainly inside the classroom with a few instances outside at the end of this presentation. They mainly talked about debates and discussions.

5.3.1 Debates and discussions

Nearly all teachers described students' degrees of participation during in-class debates and discussions. They reflected on debates where students got "very defensive", "very excited" and show their "passion towards this topic [by] immediately taking sides and discussing" (DMM). Throughout the interviews, teachers recalled positive and challenging moments. Some of the teachers found difficulties and discomfort in the debates and discussions since students continuously related politics to themes in the book, an issue that emerged as a problematic topic earlier. Moreover, teachers also noted that debates occur most frequently with the lesson that addresses democracy and other political regimes. They also raised other issues through incidents that occurred in unplanned and planned debates and reflected on their roles and behaviours during these critical classroom moments.

The majority of the debates that the teachers reflected on were "unplanned". They would occur during themes discussed from the book as students related them to political ideologies. For instance, during a lesson on democracy, one class began a debate on whether Lebanon was more of a democratic or dictatorial regime "and they clashed" (DMM). At that point, the teacher said she emphasized the importance of students detaching themselves from their political identities and started the debate by first defining the terms "liberal" and "dictatorial". "They suddenly got very excited about this issue and directly involved their identities in the discussion". She felt that the debate could not be stopped and thus found her role as "referee" aiming to "reach a conclusion". While the class ended with a consent on the definitions of "liberal" and "democratic", the teacher

felt that “I achieved the target I was aiming for which was to introduce these political regimes and their specifications”.

Similarly, in another class, students began “throwing their ideas” during a discussion on political parties and the class got “loud and chaotic” (CNB). The teacher said she “felt uncomfortable at the start”. However, she became less anxious when the students showed that “they respect each others’ opinions a lot”. Furthermore, she felt better at the end of class because “I didn’t say anything that relates me to a particular side”. She also expressed content in that she kept the discussion “in a civil manner” and could “regroup them” when needed. In these two cases, the first teacher felt the debate was successful because the class met the lesson’s aim of exploring characteristics of political regimes. In the second case, the teacher expressed satisfaction in the process of the debate where she kept herself neutral and demonstrated her ability to manage classroom behaviour. However, not all teachers preferred to keep the debates going.

A teacher recalled an incident where students from two parties “stood up and started to yell at each other” (CNBz16). She said it took her 10 minutes to stop the fight and “skipped the lesson”. She now feels that “you have some people you can discuss things with and then some people you cannot”. Although, she said, they apologized for the incident and asked “to continue the discussion”, “I refused because that day the class’s ambiance was tense and because this would hurt my work and I didn’t want that”. She also felt that students cannot learn to discuss and debate in civil manners because even in subjects like history and geography, “they politicize them”.

In another school, during a discussion on democracy, one teacher felt “upset” when she saw that her students were unable to practice any of the “democratic principles towards other people” such as finding “common ground” (MBE). This behaviour of becoming “aggressive and refusing to cooperate to find commonalities” happens when discussion topics relate to their “personal convictions and commitments”. From her own experiences, she knows “with which classes and students I can raise certain issues with” and, in this case, she said in disappointment, “I feel that I failed to deliver the right

message”. In other schools, teachers expressed that they simply do not want to trouble themselves with in-class debates. Still, these two instances identified concerns as multiple sides of the same cube. On one side, we have the students’ dispositions to engage in political dialogues. On another, teachers have their particular aversions to facilitate political debates. Another informs the extent to which teachers perceive their students as capable of engaging in debates. A fourth side questions the extent to which their lack of teacher training poses as a harmful element in the students’ learning experiences. These issues have emerged in previous discussions and continue throughout this chapter.

The unplanned debates that teachers described began with tensions and arguments among the students. Then, the teachers would either make a decision as to whether or not continue the debate. While some teachers did not feel comfortable facilitating them, others valued them as an integral experience in their citizenship learning. Hence, in many cases, they also planned for them.

A few yet noteworthy number of teachers planned classroom debates. They selected topics from local and international news. One of the teachers allocated two lessons to teach her students about the processes of debating (CBJ11). She gave them a controversial topic during the first lesson and played a passive role which resulted in what she described using an exaggerated description of “shouting and screaming”. Then, at the following lesson, she pointed out reasons that led to the chaos and reconstructed the same lesson but with more guidance. “I wanted to do this so they can feel that even if there are many different points of view, they all have to listen to others, to respect others’ points of view.” I asked her if the students reached an agreement by the end of the second lesson. She replied saying that the students “did not fully agree with each other”. But that was not her aim. “It wasn’t important that they agree; I didn’t want them to agree. I wanted to teach them about the basics of dialogue”. In another school, however, the teacher aimed at arriving at a consensus and, thus, told the students “You’re in charge. I want you to reach a conclusion” (CBB28). This teacher said that he mainly intervened “to ask someone to be quiet, to lower your voice, we don’t talk like that”. However, a few students showed some resistance to this process of civil dialogue and

argued, “Why should we take turns when we talk? Look at what happens in parliament; the way they fight.” From these two cases, the teachers had a willingness to facilitate debates as a dialogic activity, although they had different aims: the process and reaching a conclusion. Still, these two teachers and several others shared with me some words of advice on facilitating debates that appeared to work in their classrooms. I present these four tips in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Teachers’ tips on facilitating in-class debates

Procedure	Description
Seating positions	“We sat in an intimate way to avoid clash and to allow more eye contact. When we look at each other, the debate is much friendlier” (CBB22).
Written arguments	She asked the students to “write their party’s principles to discuss them in class...Like a mini parliament, for three hours, students introduced their party’s principles and each party criticized other parties in a democratic way” (CNBz16).
Ground rules	Laying down the ground rules, “Class rules, raise your hand” and “listening to the other” as a part of their “freedom of speech” (CNB) with consequences, “If I hear a single clash, I will immediately stop the debate” (CNBz16).
Third party	Her students wanted “to involve a third party, a negotiator, but we disagreed on whether this negotiator should be the jury/referee or just a link between the two parties” (MSH). To have one “who has authority...so when the debate gets heavy”, this person would “end the tensions” (CBB22).

This table presents suggestions that teachers made based on their experiences and students’ in-class contributions. It is interesting to see how requests from students for a third party seems quite similar to Bakhtin’s (1986b, pp. 126-127) notion of a super-addressee; while his notion is implicated in the metaphysical sense, the students call for an individual as a mediator.

In this last section on class debates, teachers reflect on their roles and some of the restrictions they find limit dialogic learning in the classroom.

5.3.2 Teachers' reflections on roles and limitations during debates and discussions

Teachers presented various perspectives and experiences on classroom debates. While many teachers preferred to avoid them and stop them before they start, others found them necessary. The teachers who facilitated debates focused on the **processes** of talk during discussions. More frequently, though, they reflected on their **roles** and the importance and challenges of being neutral during controversial discussions.

Teachers, who emphasized the processes of debates, highlighted the importance of respect, listening and finding common ground. Several teachers emphasized their roles as promoting debates in a “democratic way” which was listening to the other without fighting” (CNBz16) and have the students “understand the concepts in a civil sense”, to “reinforce the national identity inside students’ minds” and to “respect others’ opinions and identities” (CBJ10). Other teachers found it important not to try to “change a person’s point of view” but to highlight advantages and disadvantages of the arguments raised (DMM) or to find “things we agree on” or else “we’ll stay a million years disagreeing” (CNBz16). Some teachers aimed at challenging students’ ideas by either playing devil’s advocate or expressing controversial opinions. In playing devil’s advocate, one of the teachers would sometimes “purposely give them wrong ideas to see their responses, counter arguments and in what way is the student replying” (CBB28). Another teacher referred to them as “brave ideas” which other teachers “tend to hide” (CBJ11). She felt that the students “were impressed about my frankness and honesty with them.” However, as some teachers explained, they had to exercise a degree of neutrality and objectivity when engaging the class in controversial issues.

“Political and religious issues are sensitive” and “any political or religious issue that we discuss in class will conflict with points of view” (DMM). Because of these sensitivities and risks, this teacher strongly argued that “teachers must be neutral and objective and never take a side or show a personal opinion” since “their role is to reinforce the national identity inside students’ minds”. This objective is also a key educational aim in Lebanon

for social cohesion and, thus, she feels that teachers' personal opinions **may risk threatening the development of a national identity.**

In addition to preventing a one-sided politicized classroom, other teachers found that being neutral helps control the class and also enhances learning. "My role is to guide the discussions...to avoid clashes between students" such as "chaos and noise and aggressive words towards each other" (MSH). And part of guiding the discussions would mean leaving out "personal thoughts such as telling them what you know and them having to take it, no." She felt "it would then be useless" because "if they came up with the analyses and solutions of the problems, I believe they would understand it much faster and easier." Hence, the practices of being neutral **may allow more opportunities for students to construct their own views and perspectives.**

However, playing the neutral role could be "very challenging" (CBJ10). Some teachers talked about the difficulties of being neutral when handling students' personal attachments to parties or sects and also the influences of their own beliefs and values in the civics classroom. Many of the teachers expressed concern towards the excessive degree of politicization among the students and that any opinion would lead them to "connect me to a certain party" (CNBz16) or, no matter what, defend their party (CBJ10). "What the students can't get out of is politics" and so when any opinions or discussions related to politics or sectarian identities, "students take things personally" (DMM) since they are "blindly committed to a certain party or religion" (MBE).

A few teachers, too, sometimes bring in their political positions into the classroom which, consequently, affect the students' civics learning processes. "Schools trust their teachers" and "expect the teacher to be neutral"; however, "they cannot help being inclined towards a certain party or side" and so teachers with certain opinions and ideas can still "choose to elaborate and focus on certain concepts more than others" (CBJ11). During a lesson on Lebanon's relationships with Israel and Syria, this teacher recalled her personal objections at the start of the lesson and confirmed that the students "didn't like [the lesson] at all". Also, some teachers who stated their own positions during classroom

discussions have identified students' different positions as wrong and, thus, found themselves in the task of trying to **convince** the students of what is right. During a class, a teacher said she wrote down the students' ideas on the board to see their pre-conceptions (CBJ11), "Some of their ideas were right, some were wrong". The teacher said that she uses her previous "information, knowledge and culture" to "correct them"; to "shed light and explain correct ideas". This teacher, like most of the others, started the lesson by implementing the constructivist approach by firstly exploring students' pre-conceptions. However, the students' constructivist learning process appears to be disrupted by the teacher's intervention of her own values and beliefs. This has been evident among many other teachers since they kept expressing difficulties in trying to "convince the students" of what is "right and wrong" (CNB). From this, we begin to see a distinction between controversial issues and controversial teaching and the extent to which teachers' personal opinions play a role in classroom dialogues.

Other limitations of classroom debates included policy and time. During many of the interviews, teachers mentioned how administration forbids "any debate which will not lead to a conclusion" and emphasized "the importance of determining the aims of the discussions in advance" (DMM). Also, a teacher found the restriction of having one hour per week quite frustrating since the students had to wait for an entire week to better construct or review their understandings of debate. But still, with a degree of autonomy, some teachers use more time for particular units. One teacher completed the five lessons on the family in three months "because I gave the students time to discuss a lot a lot a lot on issues like sexual relations, abortion and marital relationships" (CNBz16). She also found it easier through her neutral role to "intervene when they would go too much into details" and "would tell them that we don't have enough time, so cut down cut down".

In summary, teachers' approaches to in-class debates varied according to their perceptions of how students learn and of classroom talk as an opportunity to practice democratic behaviour, their willingness to manage the emotional tensions among students, the intensity of politicization of the students, extent of school support and the civics timetable. While some teachers felt that debates altogether should not be part of

classroom learning, others, who facilitated such dialogic activities, experienced difficulties and opportunities for learning. One of the controversies arose when discussing teachers' roles. Teachers who find it necessary to express personal opinions appear to teach according to the principles of knowledge transference since they intend to convince the students of what is "right or wrong". While this practice of knowledge transference closely relates to the culture of memorization discussed earlier, other practices of bringing in personal opinions and convincing those who share otherwise appear controversial. In contrast, other teachers preferred to guide debates allowing students to explore the moral arguments involving constructive and collaborative approaches that can enhance students' learning and, as a result, provide opportunities for students to develop their dialogic skills for active and democratic participation outside the classroom. Still, in-class debates on controversial issues are also a significant part of the complexities teachers face in the classroom. From the numerous factors I presented earlier, many of the tensions and controversies that also affect dialogic learning in the classroom result from the students' arguments on the paradoxes they see between the textbook and real life. As a consequence, teachers say this lowers their motivation to learn civics since they relate the subject to governmental hypocrisy.

In spite of these challenging moments in teaching and numerous pedagogical issues and concerns that have emerged from critical incidents, the teachers still shared moments in teaching where they found that students particularly enjoyed and benefited in their learning.

5.3.3 Opportunities for active learning

From the teachers' reflections of their teaching experiences in the civics classroom, nearly half recollected dialogic and active learning activities other than those already presented. Other than in-class debates and discussions, teachers also described how students engaged in projects and role play in the classroom. Although the teachers described how they struggled with the curriculum and the timetable, they still managed to

carry out activities and observed high levels of enthusiasm and participation among the students.

Among the more popular activities with the students included projects and role play. Indeed, a teacher described how students actually request for doing projects (DMM). They “decide on a certain topic”, “arrange interviews” and gather information “not mentioned in the book”. She observed that such activities “train students to organize social activities” which help them learn about the “social values and concepts they are learning in the book” and that are found “in their real lives and inside their communities”. In another school where students asked to do projects on political parties, the teacher approved on the condition that the students have 5-10 minutes to present (CBB22). Following the presentations, “the discussion was amazing”. Another teacher, who argued for the necessity of memorization, had the students do projects to try and get them to like civics (CNBz16). One did a report on Fidel Castro, “they brought some information I didn’t know about”. However, not all teachers who wished to assign projects had the opportunities to. One teacher had planned for them to do research projects with gathering data and statistics; but, “there was no time” (MNE).

Teachers also gave examples of role play inside the classroom. With one class, the teacher had the students select a topic to explore in class. The students decided on the exploitation of women through the media. The class role-played a court-case acting out as lawyers and judges (CBJ10). Another class acted out “through sketches demonstrating values like forgiveness” (MSE). However, he also noted that “in grades 10 and 11 we can work like that, but in grades 9 and 12, for sure, this is difficult”. This further illustrates the extent to which the pressures of official exams limit opportunities for active learning. Also, two of the selected schools had assimilated elections where students “organized slogans, campaigns and even their own parties” (CNBz16). She added that their agendas were restricted to serve the school and not political parties outside the school. In the second school, candidates had to have “clean sheets” or a clean record (MNE). He said that they used the same guidelines as they do in reality. As a result, “when you involve

them in [activities] other than memorizing and listening”, these activities “touch” the students (MNE) and, throughout their schooling, they “wait for these things” (CNBz16).

And lastly, teachers gave other learning activities that they believed benefited the students’ citizenship learning. One teacher had once drawn an “option tree” on the white board during a class discussion to draw out “possibilities of where we can go” (MNE). Another teacher would “photocopy an article” and “analyze the reasons which led to this conflict, so we do move a little bit away from the curriculum” (DMM). Very seldom do teachers take their students out of the classroom. Yet, in one of the schools, during a lesson on the justice systems, a teacher recalled that she took her class to a “criminal court” which they also then role-played a court case in the classroom (CBJ11). Other activities outside the classroom included Model UN and projects with universities like the American University of Beirut and the Lebanese American University. In particular, one school is committed to an event sponsored by AmidEast and organized by the Ecology Institute in Byblos concerning “corruption, citizenship, self-improvement, and environment” (CBJ10).

In this third of four sections, teachers described critical incidents in their classroom that they considered to be most influential, whether challenging or beneficial, to the students’ citizenship learning. The majority of incidents referred to dialogic practices in the classroom and the tensions and controversies that would emerge regarding the topics in the textbook and the roles of the teacher. These findings, among others, began to tie closely with emerging themes from the first two parts of this chapter. For instance, their reflections informed a culture of memorization and its tensions with constructivist approaches to learning. They also further illustrated the conflicts between the curriculum and its timetable and learning activities like projects and out-of-school visits. Some of these tensions were also projected in their suggestions on changes they would make to civic education and words of advice they would give to new civics teachers.

5.4 Changes and advice

Teachers gave suggestions for changes that could be made in the curriculum, its textbook and civics in general. They also gave advice to new civics teachers coming into the classroom for the first time. Within their comments, we still see a push-and-pull between active learning and memorization.

Their words of advice to new civics teachers generally addressed similar concerns. They mainly focused on the importance of “living” civics by role modeling democratic citizenship inside and outside the classroom and on staying updated with current events which they can use in class to relate the concepts of the book with real life situations. However, their words of wisdom raised, once again, the contention of active versus passive learning.

A young male teacher with four years experience in the civics classroom observed that “teaching and learning is not like how it was before” (MxBE) where teachers “walk into class, give information and students receive only...and stay passive (DMM). He (MxBE) illustrated, “The teacher needs to first “see what they know” and then “organize their thoughts”, and so, “the students need to be the ones talking”. Moreover, as a subject specialized for democratic citizenship and active participation, civics is “not like math or physics; it’s not something you teach, it’s something you live” (MNE). And therefore to develop the skills and attitudes for active participation, the teacher would need to promote “projects” and dialogic activities like “debates” that would “transform it into a subject of practice” (MSH) so they can “apply what they are learning in their real lives” (DMM). At the moment, civics “is considered a dry subject” with its “laws and rights” (MSH) and through research projects students could also deal with topics “other than those mentioned in the book (DMM). However, not all teachers advised on promoting such activities for citizenship learning. Instead they focused on emphasizing the memorization of concepts found in the book for better test-taking.

Civics “is a serious subject with concepts they need to memorize” because there are “ideas” and “things they are responsible for which they will be asked about...whether it is “written or oral” (CBJ10). Therefore, she advised that the teacher must “take the subject seriously”; “not that ‘this is civics, we must talk and exchange ideas like what’s happening in China, what’s happening in India, what’s happening in America’, no, there needs to be seriousness”. Also, a commitment to the book would demonstrate this level of “seriousness” since the book has “a lot of really good ideas”. And some of these ideas “need to be memorized”. However, she differentiates between memorization and recitation. With memorization, the student is expected to “copy this section, with clarity and sequence and I’m going to understand what you are trying to say”; not “word by word” recitation. Furthermore, because she finds the paragraphs in the textbook difficult to understand, she produces outline summaries, and so “all they have to do is go over this outlined lesson because, at the end, there is an exam.” These descriptions of guidance to new civics teachers further illustrate a particular tension in citizenship learning. Grounded in the underlying purposes of citizenship education, the practices of summative assessment continue to conflict with the aims of citizenship education for active participation since teachers struggle between memorization for tests and learning for practices of citizenship.

5.5 Summary of emerging challenges in teaching civics

With 19 interviews and, on average, 30 minutes per teacher, I had an abundance of rich data to work with. With numerous emerging trends of challenges that teachers face in the civics classroom, I summarize this chapter by highlighting the tensions and contradictions that have emerged. Still, I bring back many of their concerns and issues into the eighth chapter which brings together teachers’ and students’ conceptions and experiences.

1. Some teachers find it necessary for students to construct their own moral judgments and values **while at the same time** the same and other teachers also express frustration when students don’t listen to “what is right and what is wrong” and in finding it “impossible to convince them of what I’m trying to say”.

2. Almost all teachers argue civics to be a unique, dialogic and participative subject requiring practice and participation **while at the same time** the majority approach civics as a “serious subject” with concepts and ideas students “need to memorize” for passing exams.
3. Many teachers argued that memorization is a critical part of learning civics **while at the same time** another teacher demonstrated how memorization hurt learner responsibility when the students did not receive the regular chapter summaries to memorize and, consequently, failed their tests.
4. Teachers, whether they support memorization or not, resort to it as the best means to pass exams on the expense of learning activities, especially for years 9 and 12, **while at the same time** a teacher argued that students do not need to memorize to pass the new official exams and that the questions on recent civics official exams assess analysis and interpretation.
5. Many teachers describe their role in the class as impartial and neutral to allow the students to make up their own minds about controversial topics **while at the same time** the same and other teachers cannot help but express their personal views and feelings.
6. Some teachers facilitated debates since they were practices of the students’ freedoms of expression **while at the same time** other teachers steered the class away from debates in fear of arguments, chaos, stress and breaking a law that does not exist.

Learning citizenship needs socialization, dialogic engagement and democratic practices inside the school. However, factors are challenging the teachers to promote or facilitate these. Among the numerous variables contributing to these challenges, passive pedagogies such as memorization appear to significantly hinder the active practices of citizenship learning. Teachers have demonstrated how curriculum and assessment drive surface approaches to learning. Moreover, the curriculum and its text book appear to be more prescriptive by telling students how to feel and how to behave rather than provide opportunities in being critical or constructive. The teachers also feel limited in providing activities for learning since they feel more secure with students memorizing in preparation for exams and testing. However, a potential argument arises from this.

From the evidence, I raise the argument that it seems rather too simple to pinpoint curriculum and assessment practices as key factors that continue to reinforce memorization as a necessary strategy for learning. Instead, considering the curricular changes of promoting constructivist approaches (cf BouJaoude & Ghaith, 2006) and open-ended questions in official exams, it appears that, instead, a **culture of memorization** (or of passive pedagogies) drives the teaching and learning inside the civics classrooms to meet curricular aims and pass exams. Furthermore, this culture of memorization also appears to create an illusion that the revised curriculum and assessment practices limit active learning in the classroom. In reality, this culture of memorization may reflect the continuing traditions that the teachers may have experienced themselves.

Nevertheless, as the teachers have described and I have presented, numerous factors, tensions and contradictions contribute to the challenges of teaching civics for social cohesion in Lebanon. The following two chapters provide us with more valuable insights into the students' own learning experiences and understandings of citizenship. I triangulate the emerging issues and concerns through an exploration of commonalities and tensions between teachers and students in the eighth chapter.

Chapter 6

Students' understandings of citizenship

In this chapter, I present and discuss the findings from the first section of the survey pack which was designed to explore the students' **conceptualizations of citizenship**. Section I investigated their understandings of good citizenship in the things they *have done* (Part A); things they *would like to do* (Part B); and things their *role models* have done and felt (Part C). These were followed by a diamond ranking exercise of citizenship values (Part D). Section II explored their learning experiences inside the civics classroom and is presented in the next chapter.

This chapter draws on the findings from responses to Section I of the survey pack by presenting and discussing their:

1. understandings of citizenship in terms of behaviours and feelings; and
2. diamond rankings and interpretations of themes in citizenship.

In their understandings of citizenship, the majority of the students constructed a maximal notion which involved activities to benefit individuals in need and communities at the national, local and, to a degree, global level. Also, schools, NGOs, and role models seemed to play significant roles in their conceptualizations of good citizenship which appears to be marginalized from government systems and institutions. While the findings from the diamond ranking exercise triangulated with some of the emerging themes in their constructs of good citizenship, the rankings and the students' justifications of the rankings provided evidence that suggests a model for citizenship education.

At the start of this chapter, I describe the procedures of coding the students' behaviours and feelings of good citizenship. I then present findings from the overall responses and then focus on each of the three primary codes that emerged from parts A and B of the survey pack, describe the attributes of their role models from Part C and discuss the emerging themes from the diamond ranking exercise in Part D. In the final two sections of this chapter, I discuss and summarize the students' conceptualizations of citizenship

that were constructed by the students throughout the first section of the survey pack. All code headings are written in italics and all student responses are in double-quotations. Section II of the survey pack explores their learning experiences which I discuss in the proceeding chapter.

6.1 Behaviours and feelings of good citizenship

As illustrated in chapter 1, this study explores citizenship in terms of **behaviours** and **feelings**. Section I of the survey packs explores students' conceptualizations of citizenship through their written responses in parts A, B and C under the headings *Have done*, *Would like to* and *Role models*, respectively. The data collected from these three sub-sections were first typed out from the original survey packs into Word documents. The documents were uploaded and the responses coded in Atlas.ti. Through coding, primary and secondary codes emerged. Also, during these two stages of typing responses into Word and coding data in Atlas.ti, I noted emerging themes which are discussed after the following data presentation. First, however, I start by explaining the processes of coding.

6.1.1 Coding Behaviours

For understanding practices and behaviours of good citizenship, students were asked in *Have done* to write things they have done that they feel have made them better people in the community. In *Would like to*, they were asked to write three things they would like to do that would make them better people in the community. For *Role models*, they were asked to answer the three questions provided describing an individual they consider to be an effective person in the community (see Appendix J₁). The sub-sections *Have done* and *Would like to* allowed for a maximum total of 2,610 responses (435 surveys x 3 responses x 2 sub-sections). Actual valid responses totalled 2,178. Categorizing the responses of these two sub-sections took two stages. At the first stage, three broad categories emerged:

- 1) concern for individuals in need (n=743);
- 2) concern for self-realization (n=989); and

3) concern for rights and responsibilities across communities (n=446).

These are identified as **primary codes**. Initially, however, some of the responses overlapped during this first stage of coding. And since each response during the first stage could be coded only once, I specified the criteria for each of the primary codes. For instance, the most common of the overlapping responses was:

“Donating money to charity and the Red Cross”.

Such a response could be coded in either *Concern for individuals in need* or *Concern for rights and responsibilities across communities*. However, setting the criteria seemed clearer when similar responses appeared more specific such as:

“I always help poor people by donating money to the Red Cross,”

So, donating money straight to organizations was coded as *Concern for rights and responsibilities across communities* and helping the poor through an organization as an agency for helping others was coded in *Concern for individuals in need*. Once the distinctions were made, the responses from *Have done* and *Would like to* were coded in either one of the three categories. *Concern for individuals in need* included all responses that involved actions of helping others which emerged in the contexts of family, war, school, special needs, elderly, orphans and the poor. *Concern for rights and responsibilities across communities* included practices of participation in the wider contexts of various level communities such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Lebanon, Africa, political parties, social groups and local villages as well as humanistic and democratic behaviours with others. And finally, *concern for self-realization* included statements that highlighted their personal achievements or desires to fulfil goals that primarily benefit themselves.

By the second stage, each of the responses in *Have done* and *Would like to* had been categorized under one of the three primary codes. The wide range of statements led to a

second categorization. In this **secondary coding**, many responses showed numerous overlapping themes and were therefore double-coded. Under *concern for individuals in need*, statements described a subject of **who** was being helped and an agent illustrating **how**. Every response in this primary code was coded with a subject. Approximately half the responses illustrated how the concern was carried out. For instance, in

“Helping poor people by giving them money,”

I coded the subject under *poor* and the how under *donate money/food/clothes*. Only five responses were triple-coded. Figure 6.2 in section 6.3 presents the 30 secondary codes for *concern for individuals in need*.

Under *rights and responsibilities across communities*, the responses focused primarily on a practice within a certain community. For instance,

“I helped in planting trees on the sidewalk in my village”

was placed under the secondary code *environment*. Very few statements overlapped. These exceptions mentioned specific means of carrying out the practice. For example,

“Start a family who each part of it will give back to the community”

was double-coded in *welfare of community & country* and *via self-achievement*. Figure 6.3 in section 6.4 presents its 27 secondary codes. Finally, the primary code *concern for self-realization* had the least number of responses and also made single-subject references; thus, they were coded with only one secondary code. Figure 6.4 in section 6.5 presents the 11 secondary codes that categorized the responses of practices that benefited mainly the students themselves.

The third sub-section, Part C, *Role models*, asked the students to write down more specific examples under three questions: a practice of good citizenship from a role model;

how the role model felt; and what the role model had to know to carry out the practice. Students appeared to find it difficult answering all three questions; hence, the data for *Role models* was less rich than in *Have done* and *Would like to*. Still, the data was coded in the three primary codes whilst a fourth category, *agencies and values for action*, emerged. Thus, the findings from *Role model* are presented separately.

6.1.2 Coding Feelings

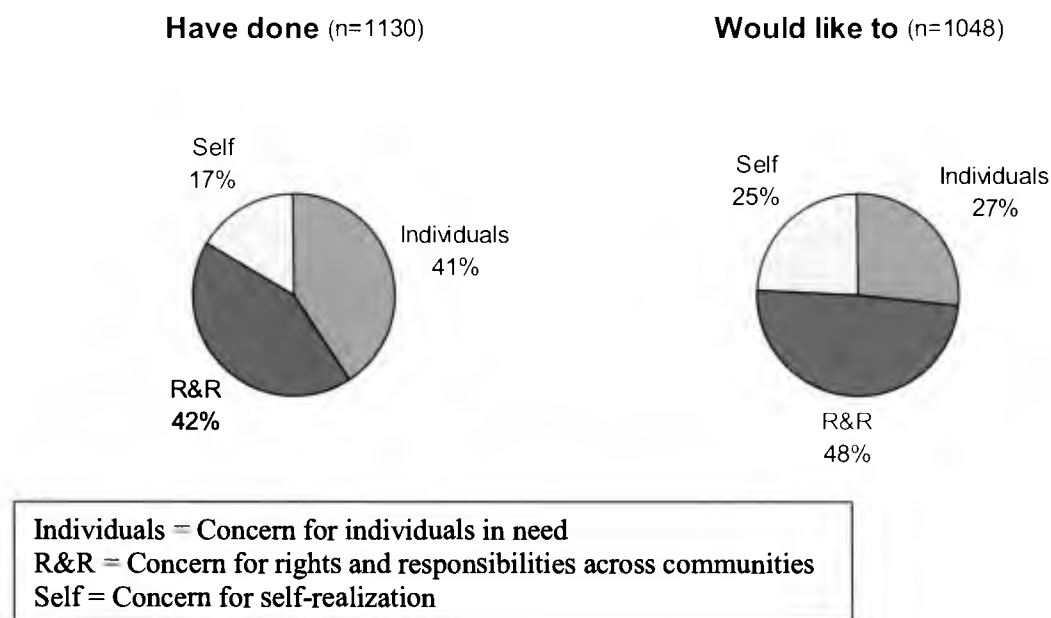
For understanding their feelings of citizenship, I chose an indirect approach rather than explicitly asking them to list feelings of belonging and identities. I have thus been able to identify their feelings of citizenship from their written responses. From the findings, the vast majority of students have contextualized their behaviours in numerous communities. These include the nation, world, religion, politics, family, NGOs, school and other social groups. The most significant theme relating to the students' feelings of citizenship is not only to which communities they relate to most, but how their contextual identities shifted from *Have done* to *Would like to*. Moreover, the findings presented in the following sections provide sufficient evidence to support the types of feelings students contextualize in their concepts of citizenship. These are discussed throughout the discussion section of this chapter.

6.2 Data presentation of overall responses

The two pie graphs in Figure 6.1 present frequencies of the three primary codes in *Have done* and *Would like to*. By looking at the graphs, we see a **shift in frequencies**; in particular, a significant decrease in their concerns for individuals in need. This shift may be understood by firstly interpreting the large percentages for *concern for individuals in need* as an illustration of a principal culture of helping others. Moreover, comments such as “I volunteered to help refugees in July war”, “taking care of my family since my dad is in Dubai” and “giving money to poor people” have been facilitated by the Israeli-Lebanese war in 2006, tight family structures and poverty, respectively. However, as they plan their futures, the simple *Would like to* pie chart shows a rise in concerns for their

own achievements which includes completing their education, starting work, raising a family or better developing their inter-personal skills. It also shows us a rise in their concerns for their rights and responsibilities across the communities. Frequent statements such as “live in my country and fight for its survival and work for it”, “volunteer in the Red Cross” and “become a part of an organization that helps needy people” illustrate their desires to work through agencies to support developments in their country and local community. Such developments include re-building Lebanon, supporting families or NGOs and contributing to sustainability through environmental campaigns.

Figure 6.1 Overall responses of concepts in *Have done* and *Would like to*



While a detailed exploration into the three primary codes follows, an attempt to identify differences across the two key variables – religious denomination and province of school – is presented in Table 6.1. The chart in Table 6.1 attempts to identify any potential differences across the two variables and does so by separating the frequencies of each primary code according to religious denomination and provinces; the former presented on top of the chart and the latter on bottom. Next to each of the variables, the number of responses for each of the three primary codes is listed followed by their percentage. So,

for instance, in *Would like to*, 29% of the responses in the North related to future plans of helping individuals in need.

Table 6.1 Variable distribution of behaviour responses: Religion and province

Have done							Totals		
	Individuals	R&R	Self	Individuals	R&R	Self	Individuals	R&R	Self
Christian	178	201	80	39%	46%	17%	743	989	446
Muslim	210	213	86	41%	42%	17%			
Druze	46	51	15	41%	46%	13%			
Mixed	28	14	8	56%	28%	16%	Have done		
	462	479	189				1130	1048	
North	190	166	91	43%	37%	20%	Would like to		
South	97	113	31	40%	47%	13%			
Beirut	129	151	52	39%	45%	16%			
Mt. Leb	46	49	15	42%	45%	14%			
	462	479	189						
Would like to									
	Individuals	R&R	Self	Individuals	R&R	Self			
Christian	98	210	117	23%	49%	28%			
Muslim	135	218	115	29%	47%	25%			
Druze	28	61	16	27%	58%	15%			
Mixed	20	21	9	40%	42%	18%			
	281	510	257						
North	121	192	108	29%	46%	26%			
South	55	109	53	25%	50%	24%			
Beirut	77	148	80	25%	49%	26%			
Mt. Leb	28	61	16	26%	58%	15%			
	281	510	257						

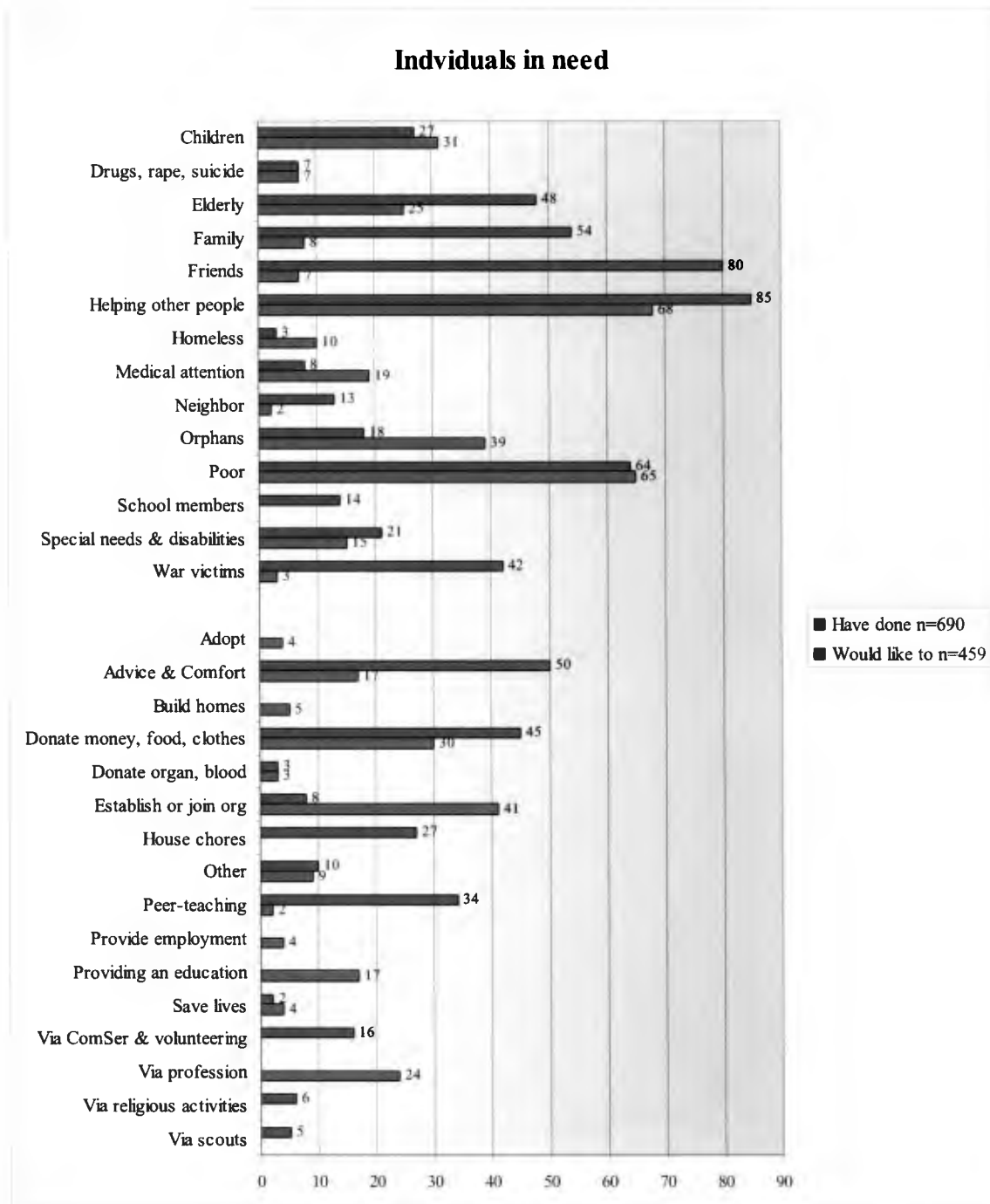
The figures in Table 6.1 present a finding that is worth highlighting at this stage since the evidence suggests little or no significant relevance in analyzing the data according to the religious denomination variable. In the religious denomination variable, the percentages for mixed schools are significantly higher in *Individuals* in both *Have done* and *Would like to* and lower in *R&R* in *Have done*. The percentages of Christian, Muslim and Druze variables vary slightly while the figures for *Mixed*, highlighted in yellow, show a significant increase and decrease from the other denominations. It is critical, however, to interpret this as a difference in province rather than the apparent religious denomination *Mixed* schools is placed in.

The mixed schools in this study were all in central Beirut and with no single religious denomination in the school culture. Moreover, central Beirut experiences a high degree of activities organized by social, development and recovery organizations as well as the centrality of the area from where residents from the south took refuge during the 2006 Israeli war. Therefore, from this, it would appear that the differences that emerged from the students came from the environmental factors in a specific location rather than being relatively free from religious undertones in the school culture. Furthermore, the Beirut sample, which did include the mixed schools, did not show significant findings mainly because the schools in the Beirut sample extended farther out into the mountainous outskirts of the capitol. Thus, we begin to see how the activities in the specific region contribute to the construction of the students' citizenships. So, by looking at the remaining sets of frequencies in the table, with exception to slightly deviated frequencies in the Druze schools in *Would like to*, there appears to be little use in separating the findings in the remainder of this study according to religious denominations. However, later on in the analysis, I discuss how, to a certain degree, school location does play a role on conceptualizations of citizenship in the student.

6.3 *Concern for individuals in need*

In this first of three primary codes, *concern for individuals in need* had a total of 30 secondary codes. The bar graph in Figure 6.2 divides them into two groups with the top half of 14 codes describing the subjects in need and the 16 in the bottom half describing the means of meeting their needs. Figure 6.2 also presents their frequencies in both *Have done* (n=690) and *Would like to* (n=459) whose bars are colour-coded. From the 743 responses in *concern for individuals in need* (see *Individuals* in Table 6.1), over half of them were double-coded with a subject in need and a means of meeting their needs; thus, resulting in a total of 1149 coded responses.

Figure 6.2 Bar graph for *Concern for Individuals in need*



From the bar graph in Figure 6.2, we see the most frequent response was *Helping other people* with 85 in *Have done* and 68 in *Would like to*. However, this particular secondary code was created for those who did not specify the subject in need other than stating

“helping other people”. Just over a third were also double-coded with means including *advice & comfort*, *via profession* and *via community service & volunteering*.

Friends and *Family* were also very frequent showing a much higher number of responses in things the students say they have done for them, 80 and 54, than in *Would like to*, seven and eight, respectively. The most frequent ways of helping their friends included 21 responses that mentioned *advice & comfort*, “I have given advice to many teenagers like me to stop smoking” and “I made my friend feel better about herself”, and 20 for *peer teaching* such as “helping my friends by explaining for them any homework” or when “preparing for exams”. For *family*, students mainly described ways of helping around the house with 18 responses mentioning *house chores*. This frequency of responses concerning family and friends may illustrate one of their primary senses of belonging; however, the small degree of responses in *Would like to* may be further understood through the other two primary codes.

Another group of individuals in need that were also frequently mentioned included *poor*, *elderly*, *orphans* and *special needs & disabilities*. In *Have done*, for *poor*, 47 have mentioned donating either money, food or clothes. In *Would like to*, ways of helping the poor included “build houses for poor people”; *providing an education* by “open[ing] a free school that teaches poor people”; or *via profession* by “be[ing] a doctor and help poor people who can’t afford medication”. For the elderly, orphans and those with special needs and disabilities, students recalled times when they “visited nursing home and got them gifts”, “cooked food for orphans” and did “some animation for deaf children”. Although only three students clearly stated that the visits to nursing homes and orphanages were made through the school, such field trips are indeed common as explained by teachers during our informal chats. Other ways of helping in *Have done* that were less frequently mentioned included *scouts*, being in an organization or even religious activities when “I’ve given presents to some families at Christmas who couldn’t afford presents” and “going and having an Iftar in Ramadan with the orphanage”. In *Would like to*, it is interesting to see how 18 responses in *Have done* for *orphanages* more than doubled to 39. Among them, students expressed desires to “open an organization”,

“make a home shelter” or “get more kids adopted”. Although less frequently, students still mentioned similar wishes for the elderly and children with disabilities. Not only does the evidence suggest high levels of active participation, but also the contributions that **schools and NGOs** make to the **constructions of good citizenship** among students.

Helping children in need was also quite common. Among the 27 responses in *Have done*, students recalled either visiting or volunteering at a children’s cancer centre or *peer teaching*, “teaching children who don’t have enough money to go to school”. In *Would like to*, they expressed desires to continue these practices by helping children with cancer by “be[ing] part of an NGO” or children in poverty by “open[ing] a place on my money with free food for children”. Quite frequently, students mentioned *providing an education* to these children and would like to “take kids off the street and put them in schools”; more specifically, “end child labour” and “open free schools”. Furthermore, *children* and *medical attention* were the only two secondary codes in which the students gave examples outside the Lebanese context by mentioning Africa and Lourdes.

Finally, students recalled degrees of participation during and after the Israeli war in 2006 which was eight months prior to data collection. The recent event, along with the country’s civil war history, led to a high frequency of responses concerning *war victims*. Their responses were also related primarily to activities in the province. From the 42 in *Have done*, 20 came from students in the South saying how they stayed and helped the civil defence and other organizations. They recalled that they had “helped refugees” by “giving food” and “helped pick up dead bodies of children during the war”. After the war, students still participated with organizations and supported “the people that come to Lebanon to dismantle the landmines” by participating in fundraisers. In other regions, seven from the North, nine from Beirut and six from Mount Lebanon “helped refugees” or “people who left South Lebanon during the war”. Some of the means mentioned included *scouts*, joining organizations, *via community service & volunteering* or “receiving refugees from the war in my house”.

Throughout the students' *concern for individuals in need*, the findings start to show some evidence of **what** good citizenship behaviour is to these students and also **where** it comes from. After looking at the following two primary codes, the discussion looks further into these emerging areas of students' conceptualizations of citizenship.

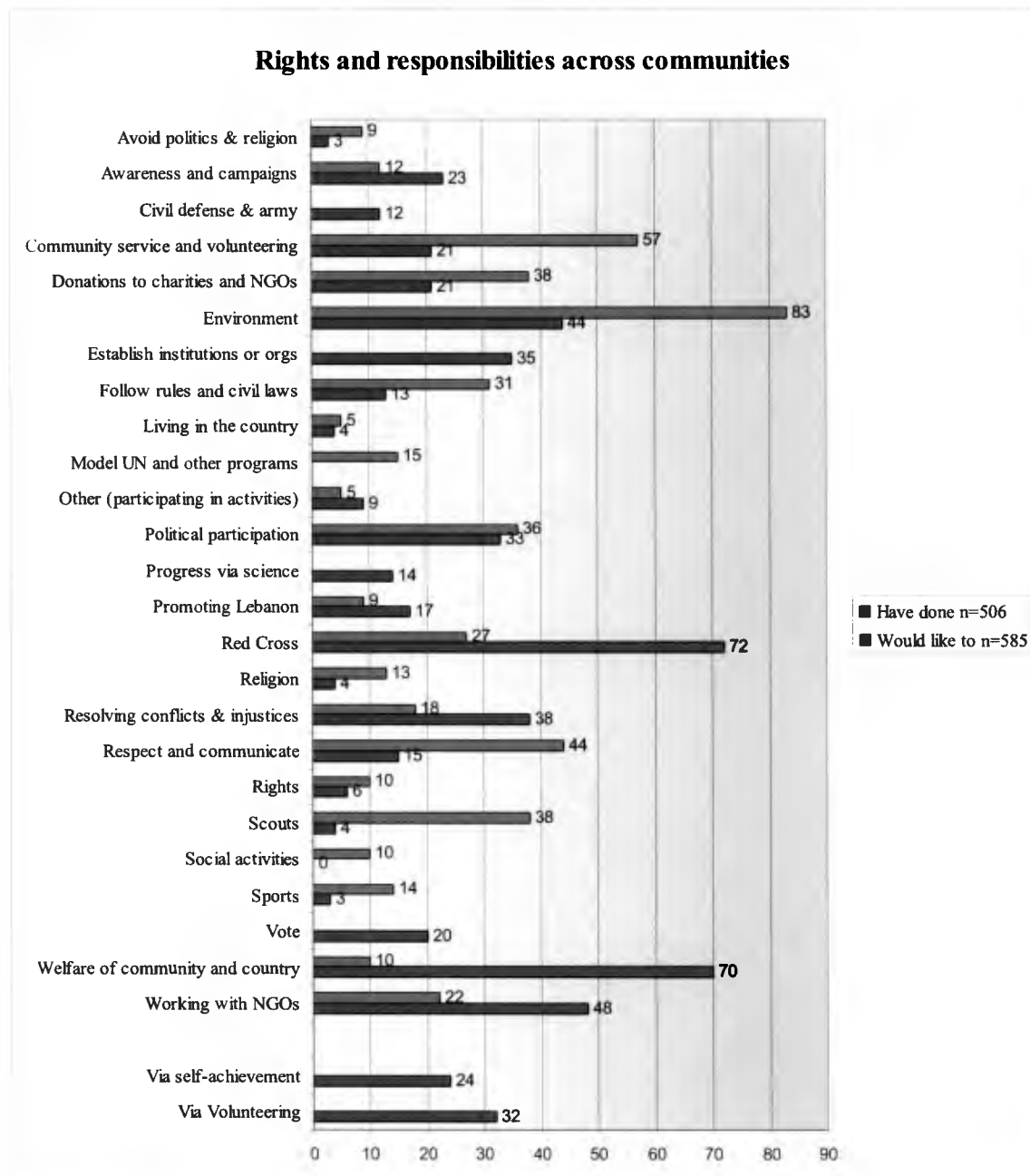
6.4 *Concern for rights and responsibilities across communities*

In this second primary code, 27 secondary codes emerged from the responses in the category *concern for rights and responsibilities across communities* (see bar graph in Figure 6.3). Figure 6.3 also presents the frequencies of these codes in *Have done* (n=506) and *Would like to* (n=585). From the 989 total responses categorized in this primary code, only one-tenth of the responses resulted from double-coding. In the bar graph, *via self-achievement* and *via volunteering* were separated from the 25 secondary codes as statements most frequently paired with a response. Still, the 25 secondary codes illustrate a wide range of activities which also provide evidence identifying certain communities to which the students express an identity with or sense of belonging to.

6.4.1 Towards the natural environment

Clearly, from looking at the bar graph in Figure 6.3, the frequency of responses for **environment** in both *Have done* and *Would like to* illustrates a high regard towards the environment in student perceptions of good citizenship. Of the 127 total responses in *environment*, six were double-coded with *working with NGOs* by “enrolling” or “participating in an environmental organization” and two with *scouts*. Other students mentioned participating in cleaning campaigns organized by the municipality, school and scouts. The majority of the students recalled projects concerning the sea by “cleaning beaches” or flora by “planting Lebanon with trees”. Moreover, only three of the 127 students mentioned recycling while a third expressed minimal behaviours such as “I don’t throw garbage on the street” or “by avoiding throwing things on the ground”. Yet, concerns for sustainability were focused primarily on Lebanon’s mountains, sea, streets, “my village” and “my neighbourhood”.

Figure 6.3 Bar graph for *Concern for rights and responsibilities across communities*



6.4.2 NGOs and private institutions

The next set of secondary codes showed frequent responses related to **working with or establishing institutions and organizations**. Moreover, responses in *Would like to* for *Red Cross* (72), *working with NGOs* (48) and *establish institutions or orgs* (35) are much

higher than in *Have done* with 27, 22 and none, respectively. Although the Red Cross is an NGO, the high number of responses identifying with the Red Cross led to the creation of its own category. For *Red Cross*, 17 of the responses in *Have done* are double-coded; 12 of them in *donations to charities and NGOs* and five with *via volunteering*. The remainder have mentioned that they either “attended a few courses at the Lebanese Red Cross” or “helped the Red Cross”. With a majority of 72 in *Would like to*, 20 were double-coded with 19 *via volunteering* and one “to donate a big amount of money for Red Cross”. Others expressed desires to “participate”, “join” or “help the Red Cross”. There appears to be a somewhat **Red Cross phenomenon** concerning the long-term effectiveness of the activities the organization engages in and the culture it promotes.

In *working with NGOs*, 9 out of the 22 responses in *Have done* mentioned work with a human rights organization. All nine came from a particular school in the South, an area dense with human rights organizations. Also, 7 of the 22 recalled participating with environmental organizations while the rest varied. One particular student from the South mentioned support towards “the people that come to Lebanon to dismantle the landmines”. Furthermore, in *Would like to*, the 48 responses expressed their desires to work with NGOs ranging from environment to human rights to social needs. Some students further explained these wishes by wanting to participate in an NGO that “benefits the community” and “brings me closer to society”.

Besides joining or working with an NGO, other students expressed desires of establishing their own organization or even institution. From the 35 in *Would like to* (zero in *Have done*), nine students mentioned wanting to open a school or hospital “for free”. Other institutions or centres included recreational facilities for young people, “care centres” and “a library”. In addition, they expressed desires to “establish an organization to make people aware and to protect the environment from danger”; “...an organization against sectarianism”; “...an organization to boycott American and Israeli products”; and “...an NGO for children and putting in it homeless children”. These three secondary codes begin to illustrate the extent to which various levels of engagement with NGOs play an essential part of what students conceptualize as good citizenship.

6.4.3 The nation as the community

Another secondary code that showed high frequency with most responses in *Would like to* was *welfare of community and country*. Here, students expressed a high sense of belonging to the country, village or local neighbourhood. With only 10 responses in *Have done*, all 10 mentioned, without double-coding, the moments they assisted in development activities in their village or “defending my country” or “defending my community”. These two themes of defending and rebuilding carried over to *Would like to* with 62 out of the 70 for re-building such as “help maintain the unity of the people of the country”, “make the streets clean”, “repair some of the roads”, “improve my country’s economy” and making “Lebanon be a much better place”. The remaining eight expressed desires to defend or fight for the country “against the enemy” or “prevent anything bad that Arabs are influenced with from overseas”. Some students also included specific means in achieving these desires for the welfare of the country. The responses in *Would like to* were double-coded with 17 of the total 24 *via self-achievement*. These students felt that being “well-educated”, “rich” and even having a family were important means towards benefiting the country.

In addition to rebuilding the country through self-achievements, students expressed that by being “more educated”, they could also “represent” their country better. Such responses for *Promoting the country* also included current issues in Lebanon today such as emigration, “I make people who don’t love to study here love to study by giving them the positive side of Lebanon”; international media, “get politically involved to alter certain harsh views about Lebanon” such as “all propaganda around making us terrorists and as we have no civilization while we do”. Finally, to promote Lebanon to tourists by “welcoming guests” and having them “feel at home”. Such responses illustrate students responding to current social issues by regarding the promotion of Lebanon’s image and reputation within the global community as part of their good citizenship.

6.4.4 Participation in the political sphere

Another group of responses suggests significant findings in the political sphere. The codes *political participation*, *religion* and *avoid politics & religion* can begin to describe the degrees of participation in, what has appeared to be, part of the social tensions and conflicts in Lebanon. In *political participation*, 29 of the 36 in *Have done* have recalled participating in demonstrations such as “marched in a walk to help promote peace” and “having participated in a demonstration has made me feel a sense of belonging”. The remaining seven have mentioned participation in activities from their political party. These include “express my political opinion through sharing some of the Lebanese opposition activities” and “support the Lebanese resistance against Israel”. From the 33 in *Would like to*, 10 wanted to be politicians; 21 wanted to participate in a political party; one wanted to make new laws; and one would “like to go to every minister and president and talk about my feelings toward this life that is full of problems and ask them many questions and the first question is why are you here and what are you doing here.” These students expressed **critical and active political engagement** as behaviours of good citizenship by demonstrating their sense of belonging to a political party or the country. However, a few students preferred “not to interfere in politics” for “in order to make friends” since “political parties...usually causes problems”. Avoiding talks on religion were also mentioned in *avoid politics & religion*. Still, students mentioned that being part of a “religious club”, “always follow my religion” and aspirations to build a church or mosque still contributed to their concepts of good citizenship. From these 33 responses, 18 males and 15 females described critical and active engagement in politics and less than five from each wrote about their aversions towards political participation. Hence, there appeared to be no significant gender differences in their attitudes towards political participation.

Across these three secondary codes, **activities in the province or region influenced the types of political activities** students were engaged in. For instance, 18 students in Beirut mentioned participation in demonstrations while only six in South, three in North and two in Mount Lebanon said they merely participated. More students from the North and Mount Lebanon showed greater interests in political parties while students who expressed

desires to participate as members of parliament and other forms of political involvement came from all regions. For political causes, students in the South reflected more on the resistance against Israel while students from other provinces focused on national unity.

6.4.5 Dialogue and equality

Finally, students identified behaviours relating to *respect and communicate* as part of their good citizenship. Of the 44 in *Have done*, 28 focused on “being polite and respectable”, eight on “communicate with others in a productive way” and the remaining were on treating each other fairly and maintaining relationships. In *Would like to*, 5 of the 17 responses focused on dialogue and communication by wanting “to listen carefully to other people’s opinions”. Students also made several references to cooperation such as to “work and interact with other citizens which will make my country prosper and grow”. Furthermore, they illustrated their visions of humanistic behaviour in the two subsections by “being polite”, “behaving well with people”, “treat people equally” and being “more calm”.

In another set of secondary codes, responses for *resolving conflicts & injustices* and *rights* were closely related to each other. With responses in *resolving conflicts & injustices* more than doubling from 18 in *Have done* to 38 in *Would like to*, the 18 stated how they have either “helped solve some arguments” or “a struggle between two friends”. However, in *Would like to*, the students associate much of the resolving conflicts with injustices such as “fighting corruption”, “through justice, stop the killings in Lebanon”, and “try to explain to the Arabic community that there needs to be some equality between a man and a woman”. In *rights*, the student responses in *Have done* mainly recalled times they practiced their rights such as expressing their opinions when “working in the press club of my school” or “speak my words as a Lebanese”. In *Would like to*, the few references pertained mainly to promoting equality through rights; in particular, “giving women their complete rights”. Within *resolving conflicts & injustices* and *rights*, 15 students mentioned women’s rights: 14 of which were females. This could illustrate a possible lack of awareness or concern of gender inequalities among males

which may reflect on certain exclusive rights and practices for males through, what Joseph (1999a) described as, patrilineality. From the 14 female responses, 12 emphasized equality while the remaining pair focused more on the role of women changing society. In Lister's (1997) description of two routes taken towards the justice of women's citizenship statuses and practices, the gender-neutral approach aims at equal participatory rights while the gender-differentiated approach recognizes the contributions and concerns of women in the private sphere. Hence, we can identify a more gender-neutral approach among the young women in this study who have focused more on equality than difference.

Furthermore, all 40 participating students from the all-girls school showed equal considerations towards women's rights with the other schools. In fact, only two students from the all-girls school had mentioned women's rights with one wanting to "change society's views towards women". Hence, the support found in female students for women's rights, which is also found in Lister's (1997) description of women's organizations and support networks, is not necessarily predominant in an all-female environment. However, the civics teaching and learning inside the classrooms of the all-girls school did demonstrate a greater degree of considerations towards women's rights and this focus was confirmed in interviews with the female teachers (CBJ10 & CBJ11) in their descriptions of class discussions on women's struggles and injustices around the world, in the media and in Lebanon.

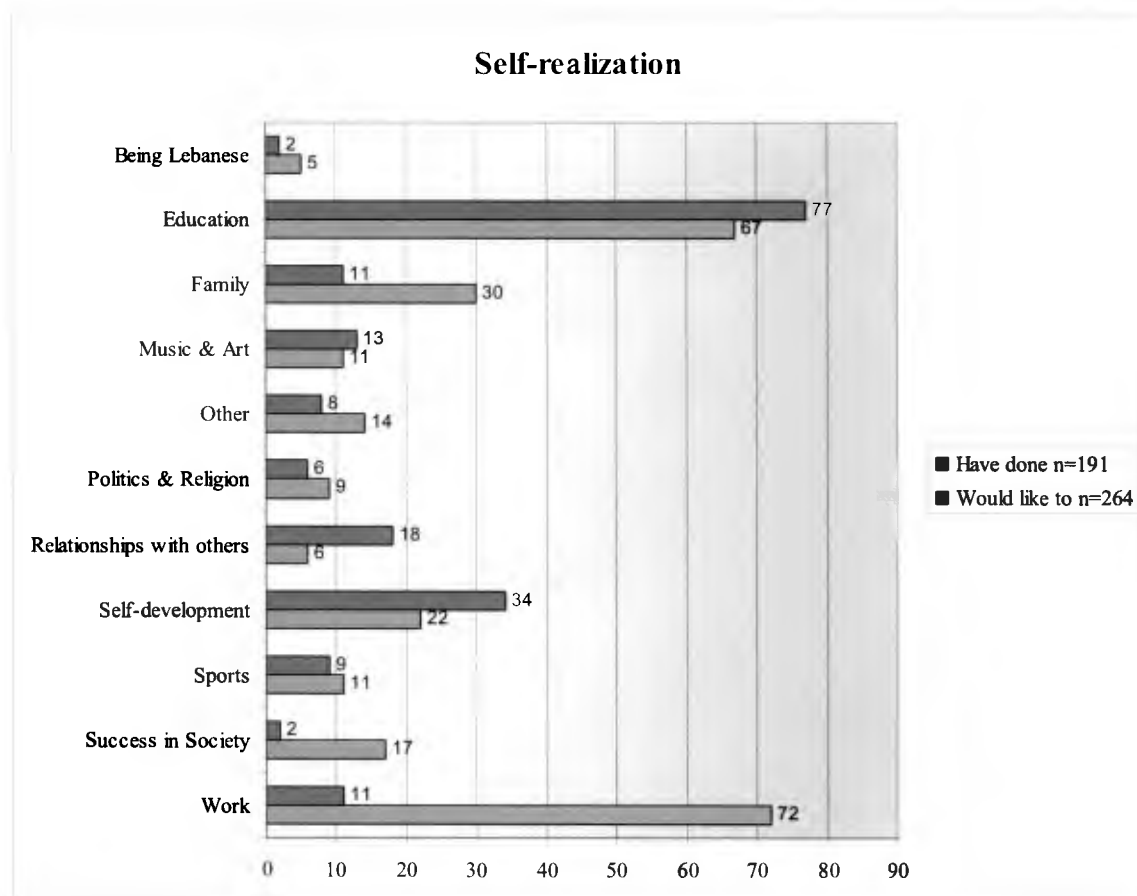
The secondary codes in *concern for rights and responsibilities across communities* present a wide range of behaviours and feelings that students view as elements of good citizenship. Not only do they address the political and social conflicts in Lebanon, but also illustrate numerous other issues in the country that the global community may not be so familiar with; in particular, the rising concerns of Lebanon's environment and youth emigration. Also, looking at the responses in both primary codes, *concern for individuals in need* and *concern for rights and responsibilities across communities*, there appears to be a certain **shift from behaviours with family and friends in Have done to stronger feelings towards reconstruction and development in the country in Would like to.**

Moreover, these practices and feelings appear to be strongly motivated from **school, NGOs and the specific activities taking place in their region**. Alongside their concerns for helping others and contributing to the country, their responses showed that self-realization is also a key factor in their understandings of good citizenship.

6.5 Concern for self-realization

The third and final primary code, *concern for self-realization*, has brought out 10 secondary codes with one as *Other* (see Figure 6.4). From the 446 total responses shown in Table 6.1, only nine were double-coded resulting in a total of 455 coded responses in *Have done* (n=191) and *Would like to* (n=264). Here, student responses illustrate how they perceive their own achievements as important aspects of good citizenship.

Figure 6.4 Bar graph for *Concern for self-realization*



For these students, *education* comprised almost one-third of their total responses for self-realization. The 77 coded responses in *Have done* focused on “being educated”, “getting good grades” and passing the government exams since “being successful in school is the most important thing for me” which also “makes me an important person in society”. In *Would like to*, students expressed in the 67 coded responses their desires to graduate from university with a “high degree” and “keeping learning things” such as the history of Lebanon, other languages, sciences, law and other fields. Here, five were double-coded with work as they felt that having a good education and performing well at work were related to each other. While the large number of responses towards education is due to their current status as students, they still valued learning and education as an important contributing factor to their good citizenship.

In *work*, students wrote in the 11 coded responses in *Have done* that having a summer job was beneficial for their citizenship. One understood, “I work in summer so that this will give me the aim and the level of my community so I can take care”. In *Would like to*, the frequency of responses rose significantly to 72 with students aspiring for a “good job” for personal wealth, success and self-worth since “getting a job would make me feel like a useful citizen”. Some of the 72 responses related jobs to patriotic feelings; “try to develop my work in my own country, not somewhere else” and “be a successful doctor and make my nation proud”.

In *self-development*, the 56 coded responses focused primarily on how morals and personality traits informed their decisions and behaviours of good citizenship. For instance, in *Have done*, students wrote, “I’ve taught myself how to control my temper” and “knowing bad from good and having limits”. Other statements showed a wide range of traits including open-mindedness, self-confidence, independence, responsibility, composure and persistence. Moreover, two students felt that their involvement in music and writing “made me feel a lot more self-confident”. In *Would like to*, they expressed desires to improve their self-confidence, assertiveness, and being “good and polite” so, as several mentioned, “people will always remember me for that”. In both sub-sections,

students mentioned that coping with difficulties also contributed towards their personal development for good citizenship.

The family, too, was quite frequently referred to. While students focused on helping and supporting family in *concern for individuals in need*, students in this primary code expressed healthy family dynamics and practices as a part of their good citizenship. In the 11 responses in *Have done*, students mentioned listening to parents' advice and also providing the same kind of guidance for siblings. In the 33 coded responses in *Would like to*, students expressed desires to "have a family of my own", "make my family proud", "raise my kids on good values" and "adopt a child"; while two wanted to "live away from family".

Finally, other less frequently mentioned behaviours and practices included 24 responses in *music & art* whereby students expressed their contributions in playing music, dancing and "keep on with my writings and trying to make a change". Only 15 responses referred to *politics & religion* as personal benefits; eight stressed on the importance of continuing their religious practices and six on the importance of "establishing healthy political thinking" and knowing their political orientations. One, in particular, felt that "removing the idea of sectarianism from my mind" was important. Across these secondary codes for *self-realization*, the students described how self-development and personal achievements contribute to their good citizenship as means to helping others or developing the country.

These three primary codes that emerged from the two sub-sections of the survey pack, *Have done* and *Would like to*, partially construct these students' ideas of good citizenship. Thus, I present the third sub-section, *Role models*, which provides further information on students' conceptualizations of **what** good citizenship is and **where** it comes from.

6.6 Role models

In *Role models*, students answered three questions in the survey pack: what the person did, how the person felt after the behaviour and what the person needed to know in order

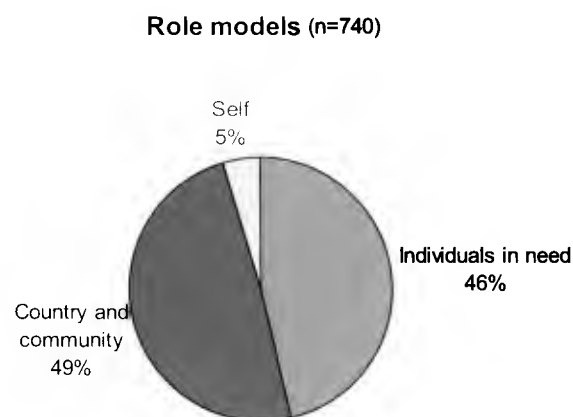
to carry it out. From the 435 completed survey packs, only 740 responses were coded in total as it appeared that students found difficulties in the questions. Still, from the responses, four codes emerged: 1) actions for individuals in need (n=213); 2) actions for country and other communities (n=226); 3) actions for self (n=22); and 4) agencies and values for actions (n=279). The following shows a sample of the coding criteria:

“Built Lebanon after the civil war” coded in *actions for country and other communities*
 “Charities and educated thousands of people” coded in *actions for individuals in need*
 “He always aimed to have a peaceful and successful life” coded in *actions for self*
 “Being educated, successful in his work, Have a sweet loving heart for his country” coded in *agencies and values for actions*

The first three, graphed in Figure 6.5, are similar to the three primary codes in *Have done* and *Would like to* (Figure 6.1) identifying either others in need, the community or themselves as the main beneficiaries of the good civic behaviour. The percentages of the pie graphs, though, slightly vary between the two as *Role models* show a lesser emphasis on the self. The fourth code, *agencies and values*, categorizes all responses that students made related to what they felt their role models found necessary to believe in, or to know in order to act as effective members in the community.

The following sub-section presents the first three codes graphed in Figure 6.5 as their **concerns and actions**. The second sub-section discusses some of the agencies and values students believed motivated and assisted in the role models’ actions of good citizenship.

Figure 6.5 Pie graph of responses for *Role models*



6.6.1 Role models' concerns and actions

When describing their role models' practices and attributes of good citizenship, the students' responses showed concerns and actions for **individuals in need, country and community** and self.

In *actions for individuals in need*, students' role models mainly provided either financial assistance or voluntary service. While only four of the students mentioned themselves being helped by role models by overcoming "problems" and "helped me set my goals", the remaining 209 responses referred to other people. Role models who gave financial assistance either paid for students' education by helping "them to study in universities and made them to be a good member in the society" or supported people's medical needs by "donat[ing] money to people with cancer" and "provid[ing] medicine to those who couldn't afford it". Students also made references to role models who "rebuilt houses" for those destroyed in the 2006 Israeli war. For voluntary services, their role models helped the old, poor, orphaned, blind, and victims of the war by providing services such as "building them an association" or "set up organizations". From those mentioned, some also taught the blind and "integrated blind people with others"; counselled teenagers when coping with divorce and drugs; and "didn't charge people when treated them". These students' comments illustrate a cultural environment where education and health care do not appear to be accessible to all. Thus, their comments suggest practices of providing financial assistance and voluntary service supporting education and health care that model some essential behaviours of good citizenship.

Identity and senses of belonging of the role models also emerged from this first of four codes. While many descriptions of the role models had related their behaviours to issues concerning the local community or country, just over 5% of the responses made reference to problems in other parts of the world. These included segregation, racism and rights struggles of African Americans; poor people in Africa; "helped the families who survived the hurricanes"; "adopting children from poor countries" and mentioned the individual who founded the Red Cross "during his travel from Switzerland to Italy and helped

injured people”. Still, the clear majority of the role models described, provided for their “homeland people”. In *actions for individuals in need*, students described role models who “sacrificed many things they like to do for the benefit of others”.

In *actions for country and community*, almost 70% of the students described role models who either contributed towards reconstruction and development of the country or towards liberation or defending the country. Students who wrote about those contributing to development described their role models as those who “rebuilt and reconstructed Lebanon” and “towns” after the civil war by “build[ing] bridges and modern buildings”, improving the economy and promoting tourism. Students who found individuals as model citizens by defending the country had “liberated Lebanon from Israeli occupation” by “fighting the enemy to achieve liberty” or by being “in the army and services the country”. There were no significant differences across the variables of religious denomination and province. However, the behaviours used to describe these role models were similar to those expressed earlier in the secondary code, *welfare of community and country* in Figure 6.3.

Student responses also described model citizens celebrating the country or community where they “glorified the country through nationalistic songs” or “always do parties for the village”. Also, the role models in this category promoted Lebanon in the global community through sports, music, career or diplomacy and international relations. Through these, the role models tried “to make the world to see Arabs better”. Other students mentioned individuals who contributed to science such as one who “put a lot of formulas in physics and helped us live a new technological world” and another researching a “cure for cancer”. Finally, five students described role models as those “following all the rules and paying taxes” or “not leaving their society, practicing their rights and abiding by the law”. These perceptions are similar to the secondary codes *promoting Lebanon, progress via science* and *follow rules and civil laws in concern for rights and responsibilities across communities*.

Finally, in identifying feelings of citizenship through the role models, less than 5% of the students described role models acting in the global community. Those mentioned had “boycott[ed] salt from the British in India” and “encourages all countries to unite (America, Arabia, European)”. Furthermore, only 6 of the 226 students in this category expressed an explicit sense of belonging towards a religious sect. While the students described the majority of their role models as individuals in Lebanon, the clear majority of actions mentioned could be summarized by saying that the students perceive model citizens as those who “went beyond [their] personal benefits to help his community and country”.

Students, however, did identify model citizens who worked for their own benefit; although a mere 5%. From the total of 22 responses coded in *actions for self*, descriptions of practices included financial success from singing and dancing, victory in sports, participation as an effective family member and sense of self-achievement through qualifications and other education related activities. One of the responses illustrated a role model’s intention “to have a peaceful and successful life”. These findings showed a low frequency of responses whereby role models’ self-benefits are perceived as part of good citizenship. Although responses for self-realization in *Have done* and *Would like to* were slightly more frequent, throughout Section I of the survey pack, students have still conceptualized their practices of good citizenship as **behaviours that benefit others or society before benefiting themselves**.

6.6.2 Role models’ *agencies and values*

In the final category for *Role models, agencies and values*, student responses presented skills, values and personality traits they felt motivated the behaviours of their role models towards good citizenship. The necessary skills for good citizenship that students listed varied. Some were related to medicine, technology, teaching, first-aid and “how to use the Braille typing machine”. Here, students also viewed creativity as an important skill. Others focused on “ways to communicate”, “preaching” and “diplomacy” which included skills such as “public speaking”; “patience and ability to speak to people”; “how to deal

with people and how to debate with others”. While students found financial success as a critical factor in helping those in need, they also referred to it as a skill; as “the technique of earning money fast in order to use it in helping others”. Students who focused on defending the nation found that “skills in fighting and defending”, “war strategy”, “how to use weapons” and understanding the enemy were necessary for their effective civic behaviours. Furthermore, students found that “parenthood” was also a necessary skill for practicing good citizenship; students earlier highlighted family as an important element of good citizenship in their daily lives.

The values that students related to their role models’ good practices included **humanistic and democratic, civil, nationalistic, political and religious values**. More frequently were values of **respecting others** and “the feelings of people they are working with”, **forgiveness** and “helping others is so important in life”. Another was **compassion**, for both country and people. Their model citizens would “feel pain for one’s country” and also know “the feeling of poor people; the way they live” and could “put himself in the shoes of others”. In addition to knowing how others felt, experiencing the struggles was also an important value. For instance, one individual “helped a lot of people because he have tasted the bitterness of life and knows that if he helped someone he might erase that bitterness”. Furthermore, students expressed values of **equality and unity**. Some of the students’ role models “helped people from different religions treating them equally”; another tried to “unite all people excluding the differences between them.” Also, while they mentioned other humanistic and democratic values such as peace, justice, freedom, democracy, security and human rights, they also valued the **armed resistance against oppressors** whereby “no revolution can be made without guns”. For other political behaviours, students expressed values of **being critical** and not to “kiss the asses of politicians”. Furthermore, students saw **loyalty** from the people as an important political value. However, in controversy, students supported their role models acting over and above the law “because he knew he’s doing the right thing”.

Another common value was the notion of **sacrifice**. Students related sacrifice with the giving of money, time and even life when helping others and the community. Moreover,

others put their “own life on the line” whose, consequently, “blood is a debt on us to continue as they went”. Sacrifice was also expressed through those who “have sacrificed many things they like to do for the benefit of others”. In addition to sacrifice, students wrote that their role models valued their feelings of patriotism by knowing the country’s values and traditions. Moreover, one described their role model as “full of honesty and love to his country more than us”. This value of patriotism motivated their model citizens to represent “Lebanon to all the world”.

Finally, several students related **religious values** of having faith in God with behaviours of good citizenship. One student described their model citizen as knowing that “God will reward all good deeds and the good deeds of the person will last forever”. Other values such as work ethics, education, success and hard work were frequently mentioned. Students also found family values “that depends on love and unity” provided certain frameworks for their model citizens. The skills and values just mentioned reflect many of the behaviours previously mentioned in the students’ responses in *Have done* and *Would like to*. Lastly, the personality traits used to describe their role models were also regarded as elements contributing to what the students saw as good citizenship.

The more frequent **personality traits** included strong, brave, sensitive, generous, “not having pride” and “have self-confidence”. Other frequent traits included compassion and patience. Having self-confidence, however, was a trait that was most commonly recurring across the three sub-sections *Have done*, *Would like to* and *Role models*. Two of the students, however, described role models whose personalities stood out from the rest. One of the model citizens was described as one is not “good with everybody because not everybody deserves that” and another “had to know that not all people are good and not all can be trusted.”

Still, in summary, students portrayed model citizens whose behaviours of good citizenship either focused on **helping individuals in need or in developing or protecting the country or community**. As one student summarized the level of activity of their role model, “being part of a community means participating in making it a better

place to live; being part of a community means they have to be an active member and not a parasite”. Not only have the model citizens been described as active members towards society with maximal notions of national identity and a communitarian sense of belonging, but many of their behaviours illustrate some causal links with student practices and desires. The consistency between what the students identified in *Have done* and *Would like to* and described in their role models illustrates the extent to which **role models play a significant role in students’ conceptualizations of good citizenship.**

In Part D, and final part, of Section I of the survey pack, the diamond ranking exercise presents the final set of data on students’ concepts of citizenship.

6.7 The diamond ranking exercise

Following the three open-ended sub-sections of Parts A, B and C, the students individually completed a diamond ranking exercise. Each was handed nine small slips of paper with a theme of citizenship written on each. The nine themes were:

Voting in elections	Protecting the environment	Knowing your human rights
Debating with others	Singing the national anthem	Knowing good manners
Knowing the laws of the country you live in		Volunteering or helping others
Knowing the history of the country you live in		

Their task was threefold: 1) glue the themes on the diamond-shaped figure comprised of nine empty boxes starting with most important on top and least on bottom; 2) write a few words only next to the top and bottom themes explaining why they were put there; and 3) in the tenth space provided in the lower right-hand corner, write a theme they would like to see added to the nine provided. The purpose of this exercise was to look for certain issues and possible trends that may quantitatively triangulate with their written statements on their concepts of citizenship and their learning experiences inside the civics classroom. While the findings are presented before the discussion of their concepts of citizenship, those relevant to their learning experiences also appear throughout the discussion of their learning in the civics class later on in this chapter.

A total of 436 students completed this exercise. This total is one more than the total of the previous sets of data of 435. Due to certain learning disabilities, one of the students was unable to complete the written exercises; however, this student used the class time to complete the diamond ranking exercise and was, therefore, included into the data set. The data was entered into the SPSS software which calculated the frequency for what they ranked as most important and least important (see Table 6.2). Then, the top three were coded into a *top* theme; the middle three into a *middle* theme and the bottom three into a *low* theme. Table 6.3 presents the frequencies of the nine themes in the *top*, *middle* and *low* sections. Their comments near the top and bottom rankings and their number 10 were collected and grouped separately and are presented throughout the discussions.

Table 6.2 Frequencies of *First* and *Last*

	First		Last	
Voting in elections	5	1.1%	118	27.0%
Protecting the environment	18	4.1%	43	9.9%
Knowing your human rights	133	30.5%	1	0.2%
Knowing the laws	40	9.2%	4	0.9%
Debating with others	20	4.6%	43	9.9%
Singing the national anthem	30	6.9%	146	33.5%
Volunteering or helping others	33	7.6%	15	3.4%
Knowing the history	37	8.5%	57	13.1%
Knowing good manners	120	27.5%	9	2.1%
Total	436	100	436	100

In Table 6.2, I highlighted the highest frequencies in yellow and the lowest frequencies in light turquoise. Significant findings appeared among the themes: *voting in elections*, *knowing your human rights*, *knowing the laws*, *singing the national anthem* and *knowing good manners*. The percentages in the column for *First* show that more than half the students either placed *knowing your human rights* or *knowing good manners* as a first priority. Although *knowing the laws* was not clearly a first priority like the former two, these three themes had the lowest number of students placing them as least important. Furthermore, the students' additional comments provided rationales for their hierarchies. Table 6.3, below, shows a more accurate breakdown of the themes across the three layers of top, middle and low. From these two tables, their highlighted frequencies and the

students' written comments near the first and last themes, students raise four arguments that provide insights not only to their conceptualizations of citizenship but also to their ideas of education for citizenship.

Table 6.3 Frequencies of *top, middle and low*

	Top		Middle		Low	
Voting in elections	56	12.8%	114	26.1%	266	61.00%
Protecting the environment	74	17.0%	211	48.4%	151	34.60%
Knowing your human rights	300	68.8%	116	26.6%	20	4.60%
Knowing the laws	209	47.9%	167	38.3%	60	13.80%
Debating with others	113	25.9%	156	35.8%	167	38.30%
Singing the national anthem	66	15.1%	80	18.3%	290	66.50%
Volunteering or helping others	139	31.9%	195	44.7%	102	23.40%
Knowing the history	103	23.6%	138	31.7%	195	44.70%
Knowing good manners	248	56.9%	132	30.3%	56	12.80%

For the first argument, students identified certain values as foundations for active citizenship. Nearly one-third of the students placed *knowing good manners* as a first priority (see Table 6.2) and nearly two-thirds placed it in the top region (see Table 6.3). Through their written comments, their understandings of “good manners” emerged from their descriptions of good manners of being “polite”, “kind” and respectful. In addition, other students saw them as values, “the only values that lead to progress” and, so, “good manners are the key to peace”. Other students explained further and wrote that good manners help “build good relationships with others”, “are important for source of communication” to be able to understand others and “speak with people with a civilized way”. They also pointed out the importance of knowing these values or ways of behaviour “before we advise others”, “obey rules”, “help others” and “do everything else listed” (referring to the eight remaining themes). Students illustrated the importance of *knowing good manners* as a **means towards progress, peace and dialogue** as well as a requirement for civil behaviour. Hence, the majority of the students understood *knowing good manners* as a value **prerequisite to active citizenship**.

In the literature on education for citizenship and democracy, White (1992) argues that decency and good manners, such as respect, politeness and concern for the welfare of others, are “attitude[s] of goodwill towards non-intimates” (p. 212). And while White discusses the lack of attention they get as values for democratic citizenship, she argues that decency and good manners are essential, non-negotiable values for democratic living and critical for a complete education for citizenship. Furthermore, other writers have argued for such humanistic and democratic values – i.e. tolerance, reason, respect and fairness – as prerequisites and have referred to them as presuppositions (Crick, 2000), procedural values (Parekh, 2000) and virtues of citizenship (Kymlicka, 2001).⁴¹ The majority of these students identified *knowing good manners* as humanistic and democratic values and, from the evidence, the students described them as prerequisites for democratic citizenship. In addition, they also illustrated a sequence of learning knowledge before practice in education for citizenship.

This sequence of learning content knowledge for active participation emerged as their second argument. Students who placed *knowing your human rights* as top priority regarded the notion of human rights as a framework for peace and justice. They felt people needed to know their human rights “so that you can live happily and peacefully and to feel secure in your community”. Moreover, human rights “is the only thing that can make you survive freely” because without them, people will “live oppressed”. Thus, human rights would allow people “to avoid racism, sectarianism and giving each person his/her right to live a fair life without problems and wars”. Another reason students placed this theme as a top priority was to illustrate its role as a condition for other behaviours such as knowing your rights “in order to deal with others”. Furthermore, human rights are “the first thing for a successive society that helps in paving the way to the other things”.

In the same way, *knowing the laws* was also highly prioritized with 47.9% of students placing it in the top three (see Table 6.3). From the 40 comments as a first priority (see

⁴¹ For a brief comparison on Crick’s, Parekh’s and Kymlicka’s prerequisites of citizenship and citizenship education, see Akar, (2006, p. 51).

Table 6.2), students highlighted that knowing guidelines or rules of behaviour were necessary before practicing them. One student wrote that “without knowing the rules you cannot commit to them”. So, by knowing the laws, “we will be able to live in a civilized manner”. Moreover, these three themes – *knowing your human rights*, *knowing good manners* and *knowing the laws* – have been perceived as **conditions for good citizenship behaviour** because “without knowing what’s your right and what’s your duty you won’t be a good person in society but you’ll be an obstacle for your country to improve”. Similarly, as noted in chapter 1, Parker (2004) emphasizes this concept of firstly having **strong foundations of knowledge *a priori* to active participation**.

Another finding that further supports this idea of content knowledge before practice emerged from the low level of importance given to the environment which seems to contradict the high frequency of responses in *Have done* and *Would like to*. The high frequency of responses for *environment* earlier in Figure 6.3 suggests that students have been frequently exposed to challenges of sustainability and activities of caring for the environment. However, in the diamond ranking, the active behaviour of protecting the environment was not placed in the top because, as students wrote, they saw that **other themes acted as requirements to such engagement**. “When you know the laws of the country, you then become forced/obliged to protect the environment”. This also included procedural values, “If everyone respected each other...our environment would be better”. Other reasons demonstrated the low levels of confidence in the political sphere when one student stated, “Because the government does not care for [the environment], why should I?”. Still, most of the students who put environment last generally expressed that “protecting the environment is something important but others are more important”. These students have started to illustrate an overall framework of citizenship learning that involves three components: 1) a body of humanistic and democratic values; 2) content knowledge; and 3) active participation. Moreover, they also depict them in a sequential order starting with values, knowledge then practice. This order gives a structure for their model of citizenship education which I present at the end of this chapter. In addition to these components which, according to the students, structure citizenship learning, they

also identified particular elements that do not agree well with their conceptualizations of citizenship.

In this third emerging argument, students identified *singing the national anthem* and *voting in elections* as minimal notions of citizenship and, through their comments, regarded them as passive and undeserving practices of citizenship, respectively. Nearly two-thirds of the students placed *singing the national anthem* and *voting in elections* as a last priority (see Table 6.2). As *singing the national anthem* already constitutes nearly a third of the *Last* themes, it also had only 7% of the students regarding it as a first priority. Many of the students who put *singing the national anthem* as least important perceived this “form of expressions of your respect towards your country” as a **passive and ineffective practice of good citizenship** since “you’re not contributing anything to the country”. Furthermore, these students gave examples of more effective “actions [that] proves his nationality” such as “by working, studying and uniting and not by saying the anthem”. Others emphasized that “citizenship is an inner quality not something we spell” and “the love of one’s country is not through the national anthem but through sacrifice and respect for the laws”. In summary, “singing the national anthem won’t save lives or fix anything”. Thus, two-thirds of the students perceived singing the national anthem as, what McLaughlin (1992) would consider, a minimal notion of citizenship.

And finally, students built a case around two other passive practices of citizenship that they justified through their tensions towards government systems in the political sphere. The students’ placements of *voting in elections* and *knowing the history of the country* as low priorities demonstrated their reserved tensions towards government systems in the political sphere. Only five students, the lowest frequency in the *First* column, put *voting in elections* as a first priority. From their comments, students regarded *voting in elections* as a contentious political practice that contradicted their notions of democratic citizenship and thus surfaced their low levels of confidence towards the Lebanese government system. Many of the students who placed voting as a least priority felt that “all the conflicts are around the elections”. One student said “I hate politics. It only makes people fight”. Thus, they found it least important “since I think these days the voting in election

is destroying the country". Not only did students relate elections to politics identifying elections as the root of Lebanon's conflicts, but also viewed politicians as "the reason for wars, so I don't really like them". Students' critical attitudes towards politicians emerged when expressing that "I don't really care about politics, they're all a bunch of liars". One student gave a reason that "many people win in elections by cheating; they pretend to be caring and helpful to others but on the other hand they are not. So they don't deserve the votes of those people who thought this person would help them". These comments also support the 12 responses in the secondary code *avoid politics & religion* as practices of good citizenship (see Figure 6.3). Also, from their disheartened attitudes in the political sphere, students raised again the concern of civic knowledge before practice as "knowing about the country should be more important so we could know the right choice for elections". Finally, one student found voting in elections as a passive practice since it is a "way to express opinion but couldn't help people in their life".

From these four arguments, a contradiction emerges. In the second main finding, students argued for the importance of content knowledge informing practice. However, 44.7% of them placed *knowing the history of the country* as least important. Furthermore, this potentially challenges their emerging sequential model of citizenship education where content knowledge is a requirement for participation. However, the students' written comments show that their concerns lie mainly with the **condition** of history education in Lebanon which continues to demonstrate controversy as I illustrated in this thesis' introduction chapter. The students who pasted it at the bottom wrote that the subject was important, but found it divisive "since most people don't agree on certain points" and considered it "boring because we must memorize it". One other student placed it last "because we have a very bad history of Lebanon and I wouldn't like to know about it". Hence, students highlighted the controversies of consensual agreement on Lebanon's history and suggested traditions of memorization in history learning. Moreover, this may further illustrate their reason for their apathetic attitudes towards history learning and thus **disregard** it as one of the disciplines of civic knowledge learning. This may be problematic since Parker (2004) stressed comparative history education as an integral component of civic knowledge that prepares individuals for active participation.

From the students' comments in the diamond ranking exercise, themes have emerged that further illustrate these students' conceptualizations of citizenship:

- Humanistic and democratic values as presuppositions to active participation
- Civic knowledge as a requirement for active participation
- Symbols of nationalism appearing as minimalist notions of citizenship
- Politics and history emerging as reasons to abstain from political participation

Section I of the survey pack provided the students with an opportunity to construct their conceptions of good citizenship which illustrate **what** good citizenship is and **where** it comes from. Through this, they have also illustrated an emerging model for citizenship education. In the following discussions, I present three themes that have emerged so far that provide deeper insights into the challenges of citizenship education in Lebanon and the extent to which education, itself, can serve its purpose as a vehicle for social cohesion in the Lebanese context.

6.8 Discussions of students' conceptualizations of citizenship

The findings identify their conceptualizations in three areas. The first area addresses their understandings of good citizenship which manifests maximal and active notions of citizenship significantly more than minimal and passive ones. Then, from their written descriptions, I discuss how schools, NGOs and their role models act as major factors in the child's citizenship development. And, finally, I present a model of citizenship education that emerges from their ideas of learning citizenship.

6.8.1 A maximal and communitarian construct of citizenship

In the second chapter, I presented McLaughlin's (1992) spectrum of maximal/minimal notions of citizenship which illustrated degrees of feelings and behaviours. From the maximal end, individuals actively engage themselves in democratic activities across various levels of communities aiming for the public good. At the minimal end, practices benefit private groups and behaviours involve passive participation such as following

laws and voting. From the students' inputs in Section I of the survey pack, they have constructed a maximal-based conception of citizenship illustrating **active and critical** practices with a strong notion of **communitarianism**.

The students' constructs of citizenship extend across a series of active and passive behaviours. They ranged from passively paying taxes and not littering to establishing NGOs and making new laws. While the students have described minimal notions of abiding by the rules and laws, they have more frequently conceptualized **participative and active levels of engagement** constructing identities across global, national and cultural levels. Students described how they participated and wished to engage in activities that involve providing opportunities and support for the disadvantaged and working with or organizing their own NGO. They have also shown how some of their motivations came from their critical perspectives towards government systems in the public sphere. Furthermore, the findings from the diamond ranking exercise triangulates with this since two-thirds of the students placed passive practices such as *voting* and *singing the national anthem* in the low region. And although their activities mainly reflect participation at the national level, they still refer to other communities at the global and regional more than the teachers did in the preceding chapter. One way to understand these attitudes of active participation, I look at a possible explanation that Hoskins et al. (2008) presented to interpret findings similar to this study.

Hoskins et al. (2008) carried out a study on civic competence of 14-year-olds in Europe measuring: 1) citizenship values; 2) social justice (values and attitudes); 3) participatory attitudes; and 4) cognition about democratic institutions. In their results, they found that in **participatory attitudes**, Cyprus, Portugal, Romania, Poland and Slovakia scored the highest while Sweden, Finland, Germany, Switzerland and England scored the lowest. And for **citizenship values**, Romania, Lithuania, Cyprus and Poland had high scores while Finland, Belgium (French-speaking) and England scored the lowest. Hoskins et al. (2008) suggested that the "lower performances of Northern and Western Europe is that these countries have longer and more stable democracies (mostly originating from the nineteenth century or earlier)" (p. 63). And so,

young people from South Europe and East Europe in countries who have experienced recent transition to democracies and less stability altogether, could value democracy and have a **greater intention to participate** in order to develop and maintain it in their country (ibid, p. 63, emphasis added by self).

Considering Lebanon's history of social and political conflicts and its controversial systems of political confessionalism and consociational democracy that continue to challenge the stability of the nation, Hoskins et al.'s (2008) possible explanation can also explain these students' maximal and active understandings of citizenship. In addition, their maximal notions of citizenship also showed more concern towards the functions and benefits of communities than individuals, highlighting a framework of communitarianism.

Over 80% of the students in *Have done*, 75% in *Would like to* and 95% in *Role models* have illustrated individuals in need and the community benefiting before the self in practices of good citizenship. At the start of the second chapter of this thesis, I described citizenship as the relationship between the individual and the community. In this, I also presented approaches in citizenship which identify feelings and behaviours (Etzioni, 1995) and aims of education (Dewey, 1929, 1944 [1916]) that benefit the community. These students have built a construct of citizenship grounded in communitarianism which brings to surface a contested perspective in citizenship theory – liberalism versus communitarianism. In Beiner's (1995) attempt of an alternative to liberal and communitarian approaches to citizenship, he presents a three-part theoretical model of political communities in which one of them addresses the overarching framework of these students' constructs of citizenship. Here, the political community through a communitarian approach to citizenship "is instrumental to the strivings of communities to elaborate a collective identity that can be constitutive of the selfhood of its members" (Beiner, 1995, p. 14); and is therefore "in the service of a communalist identity (nationalism)" (p. 15). Thus, through the students' descriptions of practices of active behaviours towards country and those in need, they have presented a communitarian

approach to citizenship underpinned in national and collective identities. And since the teachers, too, have demonstrated a citizenship approach based on nationalism, we can assume this to be a commonly shared perspective of active citizenship inside the civics classroom in Lebanon. However, the students demonstrated their frustrations towards government systems within the public sphere. And thus, they turn to NGOs and family as key identities of collectivity and communitarianism. Yet, exclusivity emerges as a controversial component of communitarianism through kinship and connections.

Among the attributes of the students' construction of communitarianism, they most frequently identified **sacrifice** (giving time, money or life), **benevolence** (caring, cooperation and altruism), **solidarity** (group feelings) and **kinship** (benefits for family). For kinship, they frequently reflected on behaviours of supporting family and close friends in *Individuals in need*; having their own families in *Self-realization*; and expressing feelings of family in *Role models* and in the tenth space of the diamond ranking exercise. These frequent associations with kinship and close groups also inform an interrelationship with a sense of solidarity as part of group feelings. Historically, similar concepts of citizenship appeared in early literature in the region. Ibn Khaldūn (2005 [1370]) identified kinship as an integral part of social organizations fostering feelings of solidarity for survival in the tribal world. In a more modern case study in Lebanon, Joseph (2005) identified the cultures of **family connections** and their impacts on youth's concepts of citizenship. However, as Joseph found and as students in this study expressed during the classroom discussions, the systems of social organizations deep rooted in tribalism can also be problematic as access to opportunities can be exclusive only to those having access to networks of family members or friends, also known as *wāstas*. This exclusivity also emerges in political confessionalism, as illustrated in the introduction of this thesis, which underpins corruption and threatens fairness. Still, kinship and the group feelings that emerge from it constitute a major part in these students' concepts of citizenship and findings from their learning experiences will further show the advantages and disadvantages this has had on their civics learning.

6.8.2 Contributing factors to citizenship development

Throughout the students' conceptualizations of good citizenship, the school, region and role models emerge as primary contributions to their citizenship development. Frequently, they have related their notions of good citizenship with **activities facilitated by the school**. As mentioned earlier, it is quite common in Lebanon for schools to organize excursions to nursing homes, orphanages and nature reserves and collaborate with NGOs such as the Red Cross. Thus, exposure to such activities seems to have a degree of influence in students' conceptualizations of citizenship since they have frequently noted their experiences with care centres, NGOs like the Red Cross and human rights organizations, student council and peer teaching. They also expressed desires to provide for individuals in need, contribute to sustainability and keep working with NGOs. In addition to the school, I have also discussed how **activities within the region** contributed to their degrees of political participation (see section 6.4.4). For other behaviours considered as good citizenship, students from the North and Mount Lebanon noted housing and supporting war refugees; students in Beirut participating most frequently in demonstrations; and students in the South supporting NGOs for human rights and wanting to participate with the Civil Defense. Furthermore, more students in the South focused on defending the country while students in other regions focused on development. Still, the concepts of supporting individuals in need and their community in the region remained consistent throughout. And, concerning their **role models**, many of the students' identities and types of practices were strongly reflected by the activities of their model citizens which I have discussed in section 6.6. However, while students demonstrated how NGOs play considerable roles in their conceptualizations of citizenship, the consequences raise several concerns.

The back and forth shifting of Lebanon's conflict statuses⁴² from pre-conflict to post-conflict has strongly established a culture of development that appears to contribute considerably to students' conceptualizations of citizenship in Lebanon. Sources of development have ranged from activities with NGOs to personal contributions. In the

⁴² See Tawil & Harely's (2004) table of conflict status and educational initiatives in chapter 3.

study, more than half the students related good citizenship practices to activities with NGOs. They mainly referred to them in two of three primary codes: over a quarter of the coded responses in *Concern for individuals in need* (see Figure 6.2) and nearly half the coded responses in *Concern for rights and responsibilities across communities* (see Figure 6.3). Also, students expressed desires to work within the NGO network nearly **three times more** than those who have participated in NGO activities. Their activities ranged from having worked with private organizations to joining or starting their own NGO in the future – all for the purpose of helping those in need or further developing the country. However, a concern emerges when **less than one** percent of the students mentioned actively participating in the political or government system. Those that did talked about being a mayor and one of the 435 students wanted to change the constitution. As I presented at a conference of the fourteenth of June (Akar, 2008b), the significance of NGOs in developing students' conceptualizations of citizenship may further **overshadow the political sphere and reinforce detachments from government systems**. After I briefly introduce the state of NGOs in Lebanon, I argue that, while their activities provide necessary levers and means to development in Lebanon, NGOs can potential have an adverse affect on the extent to which students develop the skills and attitudes necessary for political participation in the government systems.

“Lebanon has thousands of NGOs that involve a large segment of the population” (El-Hafez, 2004, p. 167). Indeed, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in Lebanon claims that 15,000 NGOs exist in Lebanon with 501 major ones listed in the official directory (Abi Khalil, 2008). Their activities for development range across a variety of areas such as environment, education, democracy, re-construction and health. After the Lebanese-Israeli war of 2006, hundreds have adopted citizenship education agendas for youth and adults focusing on forums, consensus, active participation, democratic principles, rights and conflict resolution (Abi Khalil, 2008). The students in this study named several of these NGOs: Future Youth, Caritas, Model UN, Mosan, Greenpeace, and the Red Cross. Earlier, I made reference to the Red Cross phenomenon. The Red Cross, probably the largest running NGO in Lebanon and the official emergency medical service provider, has created a culture of collaboration, collegiality and voluntary labour among the youth

in Lebanon. As a university student in Beirut, my friends would reminisce the days they used to skip classes in secondary school to hang out and volunteer at the Red Cross. However, despite the benefits to students through active citizenship, villages through infrastructure building, the country through development and the environment through sustainability work, the NGO activities pose a potential risk in citizenship learning.

In the students' citizenship development, NGO activities risk marginalizing students from government systems. In a personal response to my findings, NDI, an NGO that provides consultative work to NGO development in Lebanon, maintains that NGOs "need to be the bridge between the...citizen and the state"; yet, NDI warns that "if the NGOs do not do it right, it can have the total opposite effect, which is making the gap wider and jeopardizing the existence of a weak state" (Abi Khalil, 2008). For instance, the Sustainable Democracy Centre, an NGO that aims at promoting democracy, citizenship and human rights, provides opportunities for the youth in Lebanon to meet and engage in political dialogues since the government forbids public political dialogues. In May, 2007, I observed a session chaired by Selim Mawad, the executive director of the organization, in the library of a pub in central Beirut where nearly 40 youths presented their different political views and, guided by Selim, towards reaching a consensus. These unique activities provide alternative platforms to violence and conflicts. These students received guidance, exposure and experience on conflict resolution through dialogue. However, this experience may begin to socialize them into finding non-governmental organizations as the most effective, reliable and only means for active citizenship. Moreover, through this NGO-driven citizenship, students also create their own public sphere. And whether it shadows the existing confessional one or compensates it, citizenship formation from NGO activities risks detaching the youth from association or responsibilities to and through government systems. And, therefore, while we acknowledge the vital roles of NGOs in civil society, we also need to question the extent to which their missions and activities and the experiential learning students experience promote a democratic and active citizenship between the individual and the state; in other words, the skills necessary to participate in the reformation and development of the Lebanese government and its institutions.

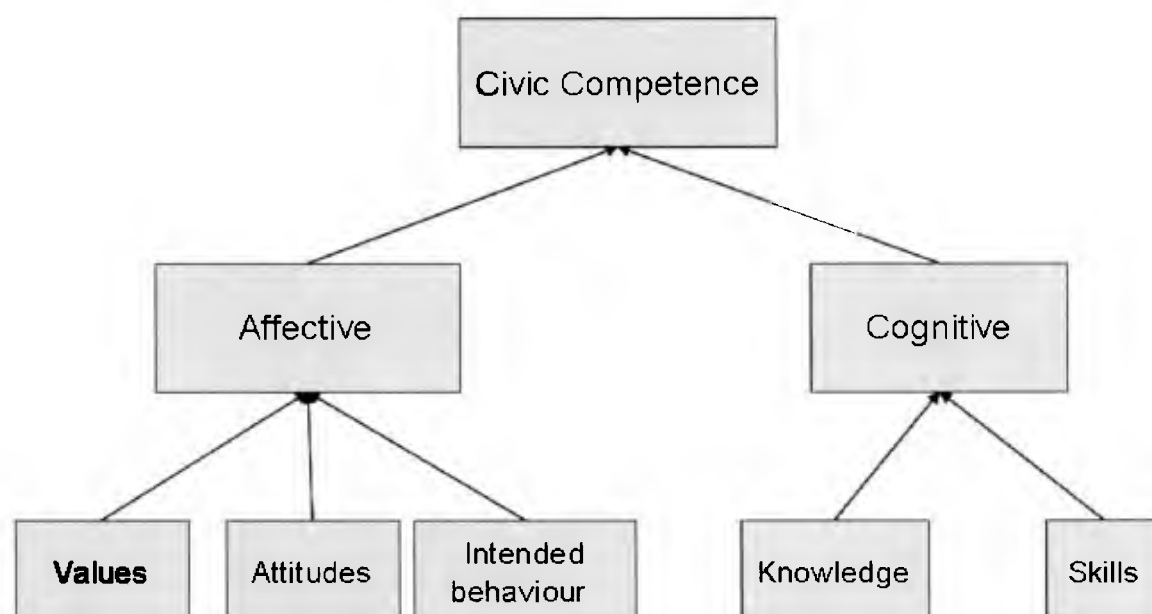
And finally, even though Section I of the survey pack did not intend to explore their ideas of citizenship education, a three-part model of citizenship learning emerged from the findings.

6.8.3 Universalities, knowledge and participation: The students' model

In sections 6.7.2 and 6.7.3, I discussed how findings from the diamond ranking exercise suggested a three-part sequence of citizenship learning: universalities, knowledge and participation. However, before presenting a model illustrating this sequence based on the evidence from the students' findings, I present a relevant existing model used in Hoskins et al.'s (2008) study on civic competence in Europe.

Hoskins et al. (2008) constructed a theoretical framework for measuring civic competence. In Figure 6.6, they divided competence into two dimensions: affective and cognitive. We can see that the values and attitudes from the affective dimensions closely resemble the students' humanistic and democratic values, or universalities. Furthermore, Hoskins et al. have also identified knowledge and skills as critical components of civic competence in the cognitive dimension which parallel to the students' dichotomy of content knowledge and participation. However, Hoskins et al.'s framework and the students' model differ in fundamental ways. Hoskins et al. created a theoretical framework with the purpose of measuring civic competence. With the students, however, through their justifications of prioritizing themes in citizenship, a model emerged that illustrates a process of learning citizenship for the purpose of active participation.

Figure 6.6 Hoskins et al.'s Civic competence framework



See Figure 2. on p. 18 in Hoskins et al. (2008).

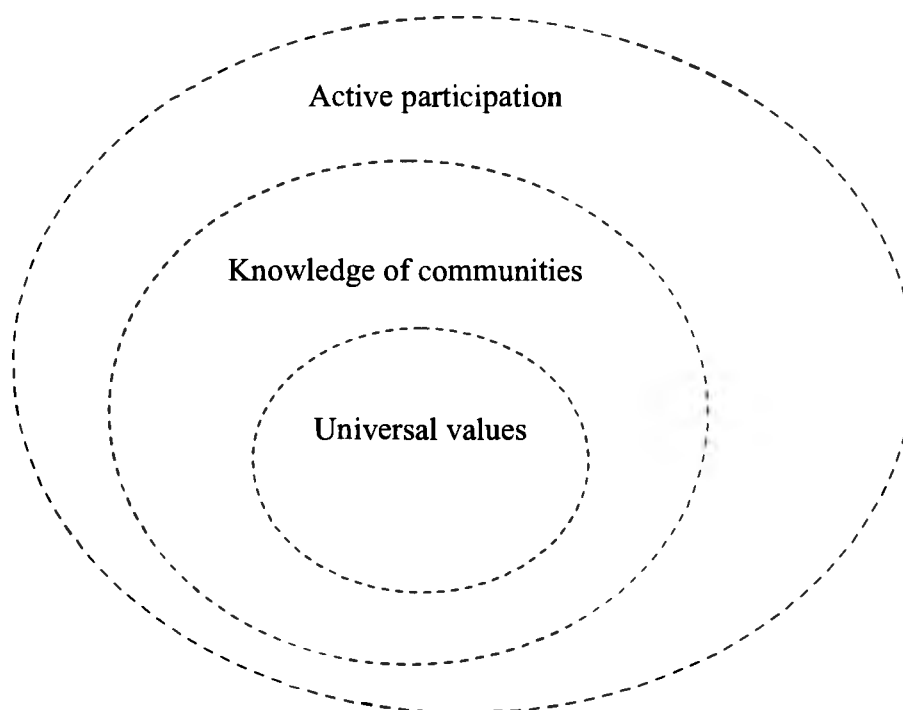
From the students' responses, a model of citizenship education emerges and even demonstrates a degree of validity since it agrees with related literature. Nearly 66% of the students placed *knowing good manners* in the top region. Furthermore, through their written comments, the students' descriptions of this theme identified **humanistic and democratic values as prerequisites to active citizenship** – active participation and citizenship development inside and outside the classroom. For the meantime, I refer to them as universal values. As I discussed in section 6.3.1, the concept of values as prerequisites to citizenship education has also been argued and presented as presuppositions (Crick, 2000), procedural values (Parekh, 2000) and virtues of citizenship (Kymlicka, 2001). In addition, Starkey (1992a) argues how human rights, found in Western and Islamic traditions, provide basic, universal values through education for peace and justice. In addition to human rights education, exposure to universal values in school can also be demonstrated through school policies, classroom rules and cross-curricular themes.

Subsequently, students then argued, through their comments near the first and last themes of the diamond ranking, that the **knowledge of human rights and laws precedes activities of active participation** such as *protecting the environment, debating with others* and *volunteering or helping others*. Knowing rights and laws, as argued by the students, aim at providing the individual with the security of having freedoms and rights and illustrating responsibilities of commitment to rules so people would know what they can and cannot do. Thus, while human rights education addresses universal values as prerequisites to active citizenship, the knowledge of human rights also provides degrees of awareness and guidelines for active participation. Similarly, in the argument for active citizenship in the second chapter of this thesis, Parker (2004) and Walter & MacLeod (2002) also maintain that bodies of knowledge inform skills and practices for active citizenship. Moreover, Parker (2004) argues that the element of knowledge, or “enlightenment”, includes “understandings, skills and principles that shape engagement” which are found in subject matters like historiography and comparative studies of constitutions, ethnicities and poverty (p. 452). Similarly, in Arab literature on citizenship, Khalidi (1992) argues that the skills of kingship “often mastered by the ruler not through the study of religious texts but, like Machiavelli, through the study of history or even more accurately, the study of comparative history: Arab, Persian, Indian” (p. 29). Furthermore, “without this knowledge”, as Parker (2004) illustrates through examples of the Ku Klux Klan and Al Qaeda, “political engagement can go very badly” (pp. 452-453). Therefore, the knowledge-participation relationship informs “enlightened political engagement” where enlightenment (knowledge) and engagement (participation) educate individuals to walk the “democratic path in a diverse society” (Parker, 2003, p. 33). And according to the students in this study, the element of knowledge found in studies such as human rights and civil laws informs active participation for active citizenship.

The students’ suggestions of a model of citizenship education for active citizenship comprise three elements: 1) universal values; 2) knowledge of communities; and 3) active participation (see Figure 6.7). As a top priority, or initial stage, the students emphasize the importance of humanistic and democratic values that underpin the feelings and practices of democratic and active citizenship. Students stressed on values like politeness,

respect, benevolence, kinship, sacrifice, solidarity and civility. The aim of understanding these values is critical since **they underpin the frameworks of content knowledge and the practices of dialogue and active participation** within the community. At the second level, “knowledge of communities”, students argued for the knowledge of human rights and laws since they **spell out the freedoms and limitations** for participation and, through human rights education, students could establish common **ground among individuals with differences**. This category can also include civil rights and comparative histories as argued earlier by Parker (2004). Then, at the third level, the amalgamation of universal values, rights and responsibilities guide **participation** towards change based on humanistic and democratic principles or, as I defined at the start of the second chapter, **active citizenship**. Arranging these levels into a model, I realized the emergence of, to my knowledge, a first student-constructed model of citizenship education.

Figure 6.7 Students’ construction of citizenship education



Finally, in constructing their findings into a model, I incorporated two essential features. One feature is its fluidity. The dotted lines that constitute the circles and the interaction of the circles illustrate the flexibility and fluidity of moving in and out of the three elements, despite its hierarchical implications. Its second feature lies in its simplicity which helps increase its external validity, or applicability, across other cultures and contexts. Nevertheless, this emerging model has a fundamental aspect which further supports the methodology of this research study – the reality that students constructed an argument that provided evidence to build a model which, in turn, is supported by theoretical and conceptual frameworks in literature. Still, this is a work-in-progress and possibly other further studies can further transform this into a more normative model of citizenship education for active citizenship.

6.9 Summary of the students' conceptualizations

Section I of the survey pack explored 435 students' understandings of citizenship. In the open-ended questions, the students constructed their notions of active citizenship which emerged as a citizenship grounded in maximal behaviours and feelings. Their main conceptualizations of practice illustrated active participation through providing support to individuals with needs and developing and sustaining the country and the natural environment. Their feelings of identity primarily related to the country and local neighbourhoods with more references to regional, global, political and religious levels than did the teachers. Furthermore, these behaviours and feelings of citizenship appeared to have developed as responses to issues and concerns in the community they most commonly relate to – the national community. They also described agencies such as schools, role models and NGOs that have played significant roles in the ways these students have responded to the changes, concerns and ways of living in their community.

I close this chapter by reflecting on a teacher's metaphor of students and citizenship education, "I feel that we are planting in school but we don't know how the harvest will be" (CBJ11). The conceptualizations that have emerged seem to contrast this image of a slow and passive growth. I would describe them as highly charged bodies of energy

entering the classroom with a momentum of experiences and ideas. Indeed, they have expressed their contentions towards the state's systems and institutions in the political sphere. Though, with their motivations and energies, they have constructed their own public sphere, a sphere separate from the state and for the civil society run by privatized and non-government organizations. And looking back at the previous chapter where teachers described the tensions, controversies and contradictions in teaching citizenship, we can reasonably hypothesize a wide range of learning experiences inside the civics classroom. In the next chapter, students reflect on these learning experiences.

Chapter 7

Students' learning experiences in the classroom

Section II of the survey pack explored the students' learning experiences inside the classroom. It comprised four open-ended questions where the first asked them to write about a class they enjoyed and why; the second about a lesson they found difficult and why; the third on suggestions to improve the civics class; and lastly to write down final thoughts regarding their civics learning experiences or any other comments concerning the survey pack and its exercises. Thus, the findings are presented in the following three categories: Enjoyed, Difficult and Suggestions. From these, the students identified topics related to their daily lives and activities that involved dialogue and participation as essential and enjoyable to their citizenship learning. Furthermore, they expressed resistance to memorization and feelings of demotivation from the lessons in the textbook which came as prescriptive and hypocritical. At the end of this chapter, I discuss the relationships between their conceptualizations of citizenship and their learning experiences which identify barriers to learning active citizenship and suggest a catch-22 of civic education in Lebanon.

7.1 Coding learning experiences

Of the 435 completed survey packs, responses were categorized into four primary codes: *Enjoyed* (n=387); *Difficult* (443); *Suggestions* (513); and *Feedback* (n=51). Within each of the primary codes, secondary codes emerged. However, instead of a single statement being coded twice, as was done in Section I of the survey pack, parts of each statement were coded separately. Most of the primary codes had two to three separate segments or statements. For instance, under *Enjoyed*, one student wrote:

“[The lesson on] dialogue and democratic solution for conflicts in society because it's applicable and related to daily life because every day we confront conflicts that need to be resolved.”

Here, “dialogue and democratic solution for conflicts in society” was coded in *Topic enjoyed* and the remainder of the statement was coded as a reason *Able to relate to*. For the part of *Difficult*, another student wrote:

“Sometimes I don’t find the topics practical enough to use in life. We have to memorize the lesson. The language of the book can sometimes be too hard.”

In this example of three statements, the first and third statements were coded in *Curriculum and text* and the second in *Memorization*.

For both primary codes *Enjoyed* and *Difficult*, the statements described the **topic** and/or the **reason** explaining why it was enjoyable or difficult. Hence, the lessons or topics that the students mentioned were coded in either *Topic enjoyed* or *Difficult topic*. The written comments that gave reasons why were coded under *Enjoyed* and *Difficult* and presented in the graphs in Figures 7.1 and 7.2, respectively.

Their comments in *Suggestions* provided their own approaches in making changes inside the classroom. Again, the comments for each suggestion had more than one secondary code. For example, one of the student’s wrote:

“The lessons should be understood well and students should never memorize a word. Moreover, it should be taught in a way such as conversations between groups.”

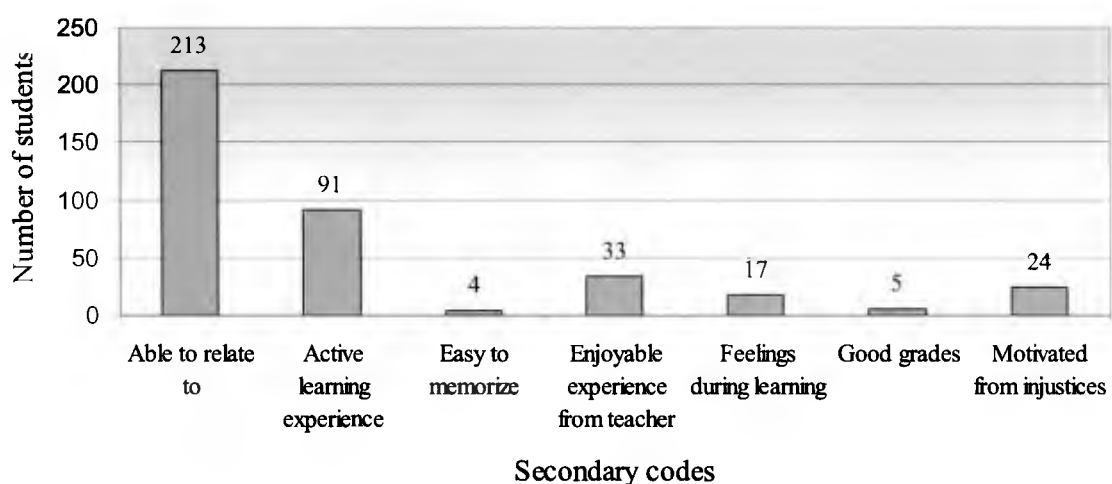
From this, the first sentence was placed under the secondary code *Stop memorization* and the second went under *Dialogic activities*. Students’ suggestions on how to improve their learning in the civics classroom are presented in Figure 7.3.

And, lastly, in the fourth primary code *Feedback*, students mainly reflected on the experience of completing the survey pack. I present these towards the end of this chapter.

7.2 Students' *Enjoyed* learning experiences

From the 431 students whose responses were coded in *Enjoyed*, 380 identified the topics that they liked with 387 coded responses describing why they enjoyed them. The **topics** mentioned included families, the United Nations and the Arab League, community service, laws, human rights, poverty, pollution, voting and elections, adolescents, conflict and dialogue, political parties and the resistance. Since schools would teach the topics at different times of the year, frequencies of the topics were not calculated. However, finding that the same lesson topics are listed in both *Enjoyed* and *Difficult* is a finding in itself which I bring to one of the discussions later on. The **reasons** that the students gave to describe their enjoyable learning experiences created seven secondary codes. These codes and their frequencies are presented below in Figure 7.1. And since the first two secondary codes, *Able to relate to* and *Active learning experience*, are significantly more frequent than the other five, I discuss them separately and present the remaining five together in a third sub-section.

Figure 7.1 Bar graph for reasons for *Enjoyed* (n=387)



7.2.1 Lessons *Able to relate to*

Of the 387 responses explaining why certain lessons were enjoyable, 213 or 55% of the students said that they were able to relate to the lessons. So, in the secondary code *Able to*

relate to, the students reflected on the topic that they took in class and described in many ways how they found the topics **relevant and practical to daily life**. For instance, they found the lessons on adolescents enjoyable since they are topics “we are really living in and know about them” and that they “give advices”. Also, students mentioned lessons on family “because it was so close to how we live” and “one day I’m gonna have a family and I’m gonna use these things”. Other enjoyable class lessons were on dialogue and conflict resolution which students found “applicable and related to daily life because every day we confront conflicts that need to be resolved”. One student found a class lesson on “debate and how to behave with other people” enjoyable since “it helps a lot in life in order to avoid problems like talking and interruption so we would know how to talk and debate in life.” Several students recalled voting and elections as a enjoyable class lesson “since we can express our voice” and since elections “is most important for democracy to be applied.” Other enjoyable lessons, though less frequently mentioned, included work ethics, law and government since “we are living it”. Thus, students found lessons which relate to their everyday practices most enjoyable.

While students related to topics they found **useful and practical**, they also described these lessons by relating them to various **levels of identities**. For example, on a political level, students enjoyed learning about political parties “since we have a variety of them”. On a national level, one class had a lesson on the “protection of the country” and a student found it “special because it’s about the state of the country today which has strengthened the national identity.” Also, on regional and global levels, many students found the Arab-Israeli conflict most enjoyable “because it resembles the conflict we are living and it shows the injustice that is happening and how powerful countries don’t have a commitment to human rights”. A more specific global-related topic that students considered enjoyable was the lesson on pollution “because it’s an important issue everywhere and it could lead to major changes in our world.” Not only have students in *Able to relate to* highlighted topics related to issues, concerns and practices found in their daily lives, but they have also made references to their practices and feelings of citizenship at various levels. In a separate discussion towards the end of this chapter, I

revisit the relationship between these students' conceptualizations of citizenship and their learning experiences.

7.2.2 Enjoyable *Active learning experiences*

In the second most frequent of responses in *Enjoyed*, students recalled active learning experiences inside the classrooms. The 91 responses coded in *Active learning experiences* mentioned in-class discussions, debates, mock elections and role play. Here, the students found these activities enjoyable because "all the class shared in". The students reflected on in-class discussions as most enjoyable because topics were "expressed with your own words". Moreover, during debates, "we were able to debate and give our opinions freely". One common topic of debate was on political parties where students researched political parties and in class "we had a dialogue, us and the teacher, and we saw all the political directions of all the class members". One student wrote,

I loved the lesson in civics about the political parties. It was special because it wasn't an ordinary lesson like the teacher talking and the students taking notes and sleeping, but on the contrary, we discussed the matter. Each student specified to what political regime he/she belonged and why. It was nice to know how every person thinks.

Another class had in-class elections during a lesson on voting and democracy. One of the students wrote, "we brought a box and we voted on a certain topic; the fact that we got a taste of real-life voting". Also, during one of the class discussions that followed the survey pack, one class recalled a time when the teacher acted out a staged conflict situation with one of the students, "As the teacher and the other student were arguing and us watching we learned more about conflicts: how they start and what happens during and after the conflict." Not only did they find participative and dialogic class lessons enjoyable, but also highlighted the positive experiences of "cooperation between us and the teacher" during participative exercises. While this class talked about cooperation between students and teachers, students in another class reflected on student-student collaboration, "My classmates made it simple, easy to understand". Thus, "the best thing

about civics is that not only the teacher is the one who teaches but the students can participate and discuss many issues”.

From the written comments coded in *Active learning experience*, we see co-constructive and dialogic activities as part of their enjoyable learning experiences inside the classroom. Watkins et al. (2007) emphasizes on these experiences of collaboration and Carnell & Lodge (2002) on dialogic learning as elements for effective learning. And so the evidence, at this stage, shows that these collaborative and dialogic learning activities may indeed be, to a large extent, effective since the students have reflected on these activities as enjoyable. We can also see that, despite the restrictions from the curriculum, textbook and assessment practices that emerged in the teachers’ reflections, students can still have opportunities to engage in such active and collaborative learning activities. Furthermore, the practices of in-class discussions, debates and mock elections are examples of learning rights in and through education as argued by Verhellen (2000). And so, by reflecting on collaborative, participative and dialogic activities as enjoyable learning experiences, these students have again surfaced a relationship between their conceptualizations of citizenship and positive civics learning experiences.

7.2.3 Other experiences for *Enjoyed*

In addition to the aforementioned two most frequent categories of responses for *Enjoyed*, Figure 7.1 shows five other less frequently yet notable coded responses. Among the 33 responses coded in *Experience from teacher*, the majority commented on their teachers’ sense of humour, “You feel that you remember it in a short period of time cause of the sense of humour of this teacher”. This reminds me of an expression, “Laughter Lubricates Learning”. Even as an element of citizenship for living together, the political philosopher Wingo (2006) argues for the consideration of laughter or “*viwir* – a civic form of joy and laughter” for “human well-being and democracy” (p. 202). In addition to having a funny teacher, students also reflected on feelings that transpired during the lessons that also affected their learning experiences. While the majority of the 17 responses in *Feelings during learning* mentioned funny and humorous lessons, others

described emotionally moving topics such as slavery and inequalities. “It affected me a lot so I cried”. Other topics like defending the country and the resistance “touch you from the inside” and “all the class members were united, and it’s the first time”. The teachers, too, had described similar emotional experiences that affected their teaching. In the next chapter, I bring together the teachers’ and students’ experiences of emotions in the civics classroom.

For the final three secondary codes, responses in *Motivated from injustices* comprised 24 examples of students finding an importance in learning civics from learning about poverty, pollution, human rights violations and corruption because “if we gave them importance...then the conflicts would disappear and peace would prevail”. In *Good grade*, only five students related grades and assessment to enjoyable experiences in civics since getting good marks was easily done through memorization, cheating or answering questions during the lesson. Moreover, all four students in *Easy to memorize* said that civics class was enjoyable because the lesson “was easy to memorize”.

The emerging themes in the primary code *Enjoyed* relates quite closely to the students’ concepts of citizenship since enjoyable classroom lessons involved active learning that informed their maximal notions of participative, collaborative and dialogic conceptualizations of citizenship. Furthermore, the students’ reflections were also in line with literature related to effective learning and the learning of children’s rights and citizenship inside the classroom. However, references made to assessment issues and rote learning raise several questions which are further informed by the lessons they found difficult and the suggestions they made to improve their civics class.

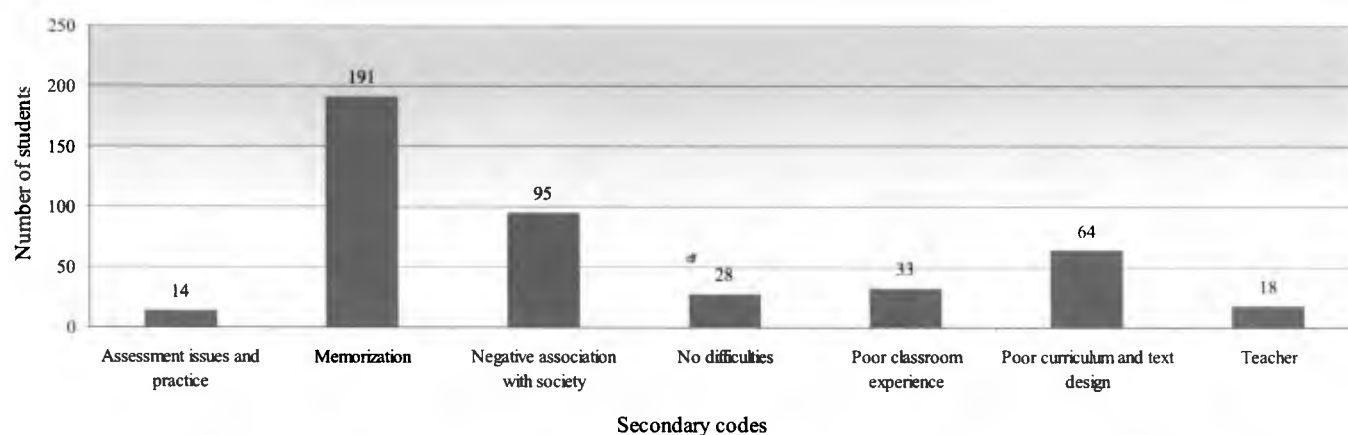
7.3 Students’ *Difficult* learning experiences

From the 435 survey packs, 418 students wrote about difficult moments in learning civics. In coding their responses, the 418 comments resulted in 605 coded responses in the primary code *Difficult*: 162 listed **topics** in civics while 443, a near threefold increase, on difficulties in **learning** the topics. Also, the number of coded responses related to

learning show a 15% increase from enjoyable learning experiences (n=387) to difficulties in learning the topic (n=443). And the number of coded responses identifying the **topics** decreased by 57% from topics they enjoyed (n=387) to topics they found difficult (n=162). These findings alone suggest that these students might have more things to say about their challenges of learning civics than their positive experiences. And since the students had more to say about their challenges and commented far less frequently on the topics and more on learning, their **challenges of civics learning** appear to be mainly related with **learning processes inside the classroom than with the topics**.

Still, however, exploring the topics they found challenging further illustrates the emerging relationship between their conceptualizations of citizenship and their challenges of civics learning. Starting with most frequent, these topics included laws, the constitution, the judicial system, government, elections and voting, the UN and Arab League, work ethics and family. Since all these civics topics were similarly mentioned in *Enjoyed*, the topics may initially appear less influential than the actual learning processes, as I have just demonstrated statistically. However, this does not completely dismiss their topic-related concerns. Studying law, the constitution, judicial system and government appeared in very low frequencies in *Enjoyed*. And throughout the seven secondary codes that have emerged in *Difficult* (see Figure 7.2 below), students further explain how these topics and the processes of learning them contrast to their constructs of good citizenship.

Figure 7.2 Bar graph for reasons for *Difficult* (n=443)



7.3.1 Studying and understanding in *Memorization*

In Figure 7.2, *Memorization* stands out as the most frequent comprising 43% of the coded responses above. Throughout the written comments for *Memorization*, the students used the terms studying, memorizing and rote learning interchangeably and referred to understanding as their contrast. For instance, “it’s hard for me to study the lessons by heart”; “studying word by word the lesson (law)”; and “studying is the most difficult thing in civics class because we have to memorize and not understand”. Thus, by using the term “understand” as a performance criterion in their meta-learning, students frequently noted the disadvantages of memorization, particularly when “studying laws because we can’t understand everything we must memorize”. Still, students self-reflecting on their meta-learning and the poor outcomes memorization has on their learning experiences. A student illustrated this, “The thing I found difficult in civics class was studying huge lessons where going to forget it after three minutes”. Furthermore,

As long as we’re forced to memorize, we will not learn the REAL meaning of civics because then civics will just be a subject that we study for grades and not for discussion and experience.

So, not only did students express difficulties in the actual skill of memorizing, but also found it as a practice that contradicts their understandings of the nature of citizenship – an active and participative practice. Thus, students found difficulty in memorizing parts of the lessons because “civics is built on understanding and living the lesson everyday”, but instead, “there is too much memorizing of laws”. These students’ responses in *Memorization* further illustrate the culture of rote learning that emerged from the teacher interviews. While the students further argue for understanding against memorization, I discuss the overall issue of memorization as a key theme between teachers and students in the subsequent chapter.

7.3.2 Students' *Negative associations with society*

In the second most frequent types of responses, *Negative associations with society*, students expressed a sense of demotivation to learn civics because of their negative experiences outside of school. These experiences mainly include their **perceptions of the injustices** around them and the **link between politics** and conflicts. In relating their demotivations of learning civics with their experiences of injustices around them, students gave examples of human rights violations, breaking of laws, corruption and social injustices such as work opportunities being unfairly accessible mainly to those with connections. One student felt that she was “not interested in the subject...because some of the civics lessons talk about the rules in our community but the rules aren’t followed anyway”. Another student summarized this and said, “Everything we learn is not exercised or done”. Hence, the laws, rules and constitution “are useless, only ink on paper”. And by highlighting such paradoxes, students feel that civics is “misleading”, “not logical”, “boring”, “theoretical” and “hypocritical” and filled with “confusion” and “contradiction”. Therefore, “it wouldn’t make difference if I follow rules or I don’t” because “we can’t relate between what we’re studying and what we see everyday”.

Other types of negative association included the relationships between civic education and political participation. Some students mentioned their lack of interests in learning politics and elections in the civics classroom “because civics is mostly related to politics” and “they are difficult because I hate politics”. Others went further and described the political behaviours in their environment which included “the malpractice of many regimes and how politics are twisted into personal gain”. Again, we see the extent to which these students’ experiences within the culture of political confessionality undermine their civics learning. When constructing their conceptualizations of citizenship in the previous chapter, 12 students argued that avoiding politics and religion is a practice of good citizenship (see section 6.4.4 and Figure 6.3). Also, in the diamond ranking exercise, they expressed their dissatisfaction with the systems in the political sphere when justifying the low priority of *Voting in elections*. Moreover, the majority of these students also raised this issue during the class discussion at the end of the survey pack. While just

a few students, as shown in *Enjoyed*, found motivation through the injustices, an average of two-thirds of the students during the discussions expressed that civics was useless to learn and hypocritical of the authorities to teach in a society, they viewed, of contradiction and paradox. In summary, many students have created negative associations with society and, consequently, have expressed little or no reason to learn civics.

7.3.3 Issues concerning curriculum and textbook

In *Issues with curriculum and textbook*, the third most frequent set of coded responses, students reflected on the difficulties of their learning experiences by expanding more on the issues concerning the curriculum and lessons in the book such as irrelevance of topics, repetition of lessons and the language of instruction for civics. While students in *Enjoyed* described how their abilities to relate to the topic enhanced their learning experience, students in this secondary code for *Difficult* found that some topics were irrelevant to their citizenship. Many students felt that particular lessons “do not make a difference in my citizenship”. One in particular expressed that “none of the lessons were helpful in forming our sense of belonging to Lebanon.” Other students described some of the topics as inappropriate since they “do not match our ages” and have too much information such as laws “as if we were studying law in the first year in university”. Thus, many students wrote about the lessons on lawyers since those lessons, according to the students, focused on the rights and responsibilities of lawyers and judges and the procedures required to becoming one. Since some of the students felt they could not relate such topics “to daily life”, they found it irrelevant and difficult to learn since “we will never use it”.

Another issue concerning the curriculum which students raised was the repetition of materials and theme topics. Some students found it demotivating to take “the same thing over and over again”. Lessons were not only repeated in civics, but also in sociology class. Students felt that civics lessons could be more effective if they took out the lessons that were also given in sociology; especially with “only one session” of civics a week. Finally, students expressed difficulty in the language and terminology used. Civics, a

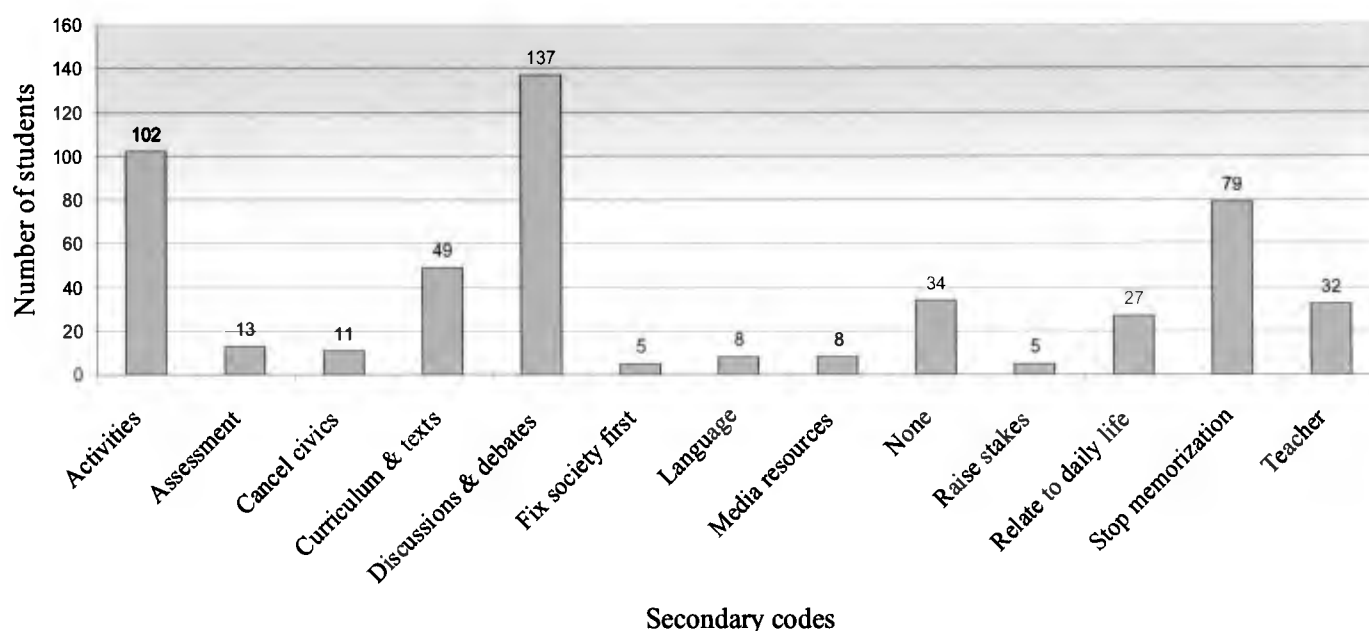
compulsory subject, is taught only in Arabic and thus students whose Arabic is not as strong as others experience difficulties. Not only do they “face difficulties in memorizing things in Arabic” but also understanding “difficult vocab” and “hard phrases”. Having civics only in Arabic raises several concerns related to nationalism and the aims of citizenship education, which I also discuss further in the next chapter. Still, the issues raised in this secondary code on curriculum and textbooks were also discussed by the teachers during the interviews.

So far, I have presented the factors which students find challenge their civics learning. However, I should note that, by looking at the graph in Figure 7.2, 28 students, or 6% of the students, wrote that they did not experience any difficulties. Still, from the 435 students, 395 wrote suggestions on how their civics class could improve. Their suggestions also triangulate with their enjoyable learning experiences and the challenges they face.

7.4 Suggestions

In Section II of the survey pack, 401 students wrote suggestions for improving civic education in the space provided. As a result, *Suggestions* (n=510) had the greatest number of coded responses in comparison with *Enjoyed* (n=387), *Difficult* (443) and *Feedback* (51). The coded responses, graphed in Figure 7.3, show several principal themes that triangulate closely with the findings that have emerged so far; particularly, their suggestions regarding more debates and discussions in the classroom.

Figure 7.3 Frequency bar graph for *Suggestions* (n=510)



7.4.1 Debates and discussions

More than a quarter of the students wrote something about wanting “more discussions” and “more debates”. To support these suggestions, most of the students illustrated the **contrasts, processes and benefits** of these dialogic activities. For contrasts, the students argued for debates and discussions because they did not want “recitation”, “not to underline and read” and “less memorizing” and “less idealism”. Students also compared it with history, “Civics must not be like history. It should be just for sharing ideas and talking about society and stuff.” Again, the comparison between civics and history learning emerges when describing challenges. In the diamond ranking, students described history “boring because we must memorize it”. This also appeared in one of the teacher interviews when she talked about students not liking history, geography and civics because “they’re dry” since “there is no understanding, all memorization” (CNBz16). Still, students further illustrated their arguments by presenting the practices and benefits of dialogic activities.

The majority of written comments for this secondary code further described what the students meant by debates and discussions by using terms like talking, conversations, negotiating and “direct dialogue”. For instance, one student suggested that civics “should be taught in a way such as conversations between groups”. Another felt that teachers should “ask students questions about their opinion” and, as another illustrated, “have some time talking with the teacher”. In addition to talking, two students mentioned “listen[ing] to each other more often” – an essential practice in dialogue. One of the students even suggested ways to assess debates as a replacement of exams, “Make a debate and have our scores from the way we act in the debate and the mood that results from the debate and the way we talk in the debate”. Several other students also mentioned some topics of discussions and debate such as “social problems of our society”, “politics and sexual matters” and “topics about things around the world not only Lebanon”. And through these practices of **talk, conversation, debate and dialogue as pedagogy and assessment** and of issues at **national and global** levels, students described the benefits that would come out of these practices.

While the general purpose of discussing or debating topics was to “understand it more and enjoy it more” and “to elaborate more” on the lessons in class, the students specified three main benefits behind dialogic engagement. Firstly, talking in class and giving examples would give civics a **real-life dimension**. Students felt that, through these dialogic practices, they would have opportunities to “give real examples” and “have more discussions about the lessons since they are about everyday life”. As a result, it would make class “less theoretical”. This suggestion also addresses some of the teachers’ similar concerns who felt that the lack of real-life examples in the classroom further widened the gap between practice and the books’ concepts and, what appeared to be, theories (see section 5.2.1). Secondly, students felt that by talking and discussing issues in class, they could **share, give advice and learn from each other**. One student wrote that classmates could “share some of their life experiences during a session and other students could participate in giving advice” or “giving solutions especially teenagers’ problems”. Furthermore, “we need this lesson to be a discussion class where we learn from each other and we make aware a new generation that is cultured and educated”.

And, thirdly, several students viewed dialogic engagement as an opportunity to practice their democratic right and freedom. One student illustrated this by suggesting,

Finding the right way to use our rights in democracy, like organizing our turns to participate and say our opinion loudly and proudly without being interrupted by someone who doesn't share our opinions.

So, as several other students argued, having the “freedom in telling our opinions and to discuss” and “more democracy to talk what we want”, is an opportunity to practice rights and democracy since “we should be free to criticize the false information” and “everyone can have a say”.

The majority of their suggestions related to dialogic activities inside the classroom. They described their contrasts being memorization, copying and only listening. They argued for talking and debating with teachers and fellow classmates since the conversations would narrow the gap between reality and theory which has emerged as a demotivating factor in their civics learning. Furthermore, they also pointed out that classroom dialogues were in integral component of their education for democracy. One student summarized this well by writing, “We need more discussion because civics is not a matter of book; it is a matter of life (our everyday life)”. In addition to talk, students suggested other activities that extended beyond the textbook.

7.4.2 Activities

The second most frequent theme resulted in 102 coded responses suggesting participation in activities such as research projects, presentations and field trips. Like *Debates and discussions*, students in this secondary code, *Activities*, described the activities by illustrating its **contrasts**, **processes** and **benefits**. Using contrasts, some students suggested to use activities as a replacement of a problem, “this problem, being more concerned with memorization than application” and thus “to be more active instead of memorizing it”. In addition to the continuing address of memorization as a hindrance to learning, students also argued for practice since the book alone does not suffice. “We

should be working practical work and throw the book away because it is a waste of power” and especially since, as another student wrote, “the material in the book...[is] not taken into consideration”. Indeed, students continued to regard their civics learning as abstract and so “we should have practical lessons in civics class and not only theoretical lessons”. Moreover, some students also stressed on activities other than dialectic ones since, “we’re bored of talking and not practicing”. So, their suggestions illustrated practices in and out of the classroom.

The majority of the students who suggested activities mentioned the need to “take information and understand and apply it”; in short, “apply what we study”. For activities **inside** the classroom, students provided a range of activities that included “presentations”, “play games”, “watch the news” and role play and drama “to learn through acting some of social issues we have”. Some students focused on learning about politics and their controversies through activities such as watching “political news”, “read books about politics” and “have good elections in the class without any manipulation”. However, several students preferred to steer away from politics and suggested, “Less politics or maybe NO POLITICS!” Still, students wrote more about activities **outside** the classroom than in.

The majority of activities outside the classroom related to “making research projects” which involves “statistics and taking the ideas of the people about specific ideas”. Indeed, during the discussions that followed the survey pack, 20 of the 23 classrooms suggested that action research projects should replace civics exams. Also, in a school in the South that has implemented a community service curriculum as a requirement of their civics learning, students from that classroom suggested to “develop the community service program...we’re doing now”. Other students suggested to “try new things like visit places that are related to our lesson”, have “field trips”, “participate in charities” and “more activities like interviews and trips to courts and governmental places”. Having students suggest visits to governmental places and even continue a program in practice (i.e. community service) demonstrates a sense of learner responsibility and a practical solution to one of the recurring challenges students face in civics. Earlier, they identified

their tensions with government systems (conceptually) and learning about laws and government (educationally). And so, by addressing a difficult aspect of their civic education with an element of active participation to enhance their learning and motivation, the students demonstrate their capabilities of meta-learning and providing constructive and informed input into curriculum development and pedagogical improvements. Many of these students explained these benefits in detail.

In highlighting the benefits of activities to their civics learning, these students focused on one of three advantages: motivation, learning and the nature of civics. For **motivation**, some students argued that “practical activities” would let “the students love the subject and improve their way of thinking”. So, “practicing some exercises...makes us happy and understand it faster”. Here, they have illustrated a personal and emotional dimension to motivate and enhance their learning. And while teachers and students described the gap between real-life and the concepts in the civics book as a demotivating factor, a student suggested for “more games/activities/trips that would **help connecting between civics class and daily life**” (emphasis added by self).

Students also wrote comments related to **learning** and pointed out the importance of “applying” the lesson “to be more familiar with the subject” and “understand the lesson”. Also, “more group activities should be done to share ideas”. Several other students commented on group work and made reference to the actual exercises in the survey pack, “Make it like group work; like what we are doing now, which makes the period more interesting”. In addition to providing collaborative and participative opportunities, one of the students argued for activities as a practical mean “to learn moral lessons”. This may suggest that students also experience difficulties in moral education, especially in classrooms grounded in traditions of memorization. They also described how actual practice has a greater impact on learning and thus “every lesson we take we practice it so that we will never forget the lesson”. So, through collaboration and participation, such learning activities, according to these students’ reflections and understandings of their own learning, can increase understanding, facilitate opportunities to explore abstract themes like morality and leave a longer lasting impact on memory.

Lastly, some students advocated for the participation in collaborative learning activities since these activities fundamentally **inform citizenship** outside the classroom. “Civics is about daily life, we should live and see what we’re learning in order to correctly understand”. Thus, as some students argued, if civics is part of daily life, then it “must be a lesson in life”. And so “we have to live it for real” and “make it more realistic”. For instance, “if we are studying about helping others, we should go and visit and help them”. Another student summarized this in four words, “go and live it”. As a result, these practices will “help students in life and to let them see how things are in society” and show “students how to deal with life and [the] problems we might face”.

So, in this secondary code, students elaborated on activities which promote collaboration and participation and argued for them on grounds of increasing motivation, enhancing civics learning and keeping in line with the nature and aims of civic education. Furthermore, I also showed how students referred to memorization and rote learning as contrasts to support the suggestions in *Debates and discussions* and *Activities*.

7.4.3 *Stop memorization or stop civics*

Looking at Figure 7.3, students’ comments on stopping memorization emerged as the third most frequent suggestion. Of the 79 coded comments, 19 merely stated “stop memorizing”. The rest of the responses had extra comments on what to do in place of memorization. I have already presented many of these since the students had mainly talked about dialogic and participative activities instead of memorizing details. Moreover, students most frequently used the term “understanding” and “applying” as the main learning activities in placement of “studying” and “memorizing”.

In addition to learning through understanding and applying, eight students wanted to stop memorizing for assessment purposes. Several students felt that the tests do not require memorization “because the exam relies on understanding”. One of the teachers had argued this as well which led to the discussion on the culture of memorization. Another

student stressed that assessing recitation undermined the aims of civic education, “We thoroughly have to memorize idea by idea or word by word to get good grades and it’s useless because the main goal is discussing the issues and knowing them further”. So, as suggested solutions, “I don’t think we should be graded for what we memorize but recognized for what we do” and having “more discussion questions in tests”. However, if traditions of memorization continue, then, as several students demanded, have civics as an “hour which is not graded; no quizzes, no tests to recite for”, or simply “omit the material for good” and remove civics altogether which 10 other students had independently mentioned (see *Cancel civics* in Figure 7.3). And finally, 3 of the 79 students in *Memorization* said it should not be like history where “we have to memorize everything” showing the comparison which teachers and have students have already made between these two subjects.

In *Suggestions*, I presented its three most significant secondary codes. Furthermore, by considering the themes that have emerged in the previous two chapters, similar discussions have appeared in *Suggestions* regarding the challenges and opportunities of civics learning. In the next and final section of discussing this primary code, I briefly present several other themes that also appear in the bar graph in Figure 7.3.

7.4.4. Other emerging themes from *Suggestions*

Although in lower frequencies, students wrote other suggestions that relate closely to the discussions so far. In *Curriculum and texts*, students recommended adding an extra civics hour in the week, having civics at the start of the day “because at these hours we would be awake and concentrating”, removing lessons that the book repeats throughout the years and having “lessons [that] involve the world, not only my country or society”. In addition, students wrote comments concerning the teacher. Nearly a third of the 32 students’ coded responses in *Teacher* requested to have a new teacher. Other students suggested that teachers “should be more outgoing” and “open-minded” towards controversial topics. Also, between teachers and students, teachers should be more open to “cooperation”, “sharing”, “interaction” and “discussions”. Still, the majority of

students described the role of the teacher being a fundamental component of their civics learning experiences. Also, similar to the previous discussions on introducing real-life issues into the classroom, the 28 students' comments in *Relate to daily life* mainly emphasized the need to have "examples from real life" and "day to day problems" since "we should be taught about what is really happening in our lives, not what should be happening".

Other low-frequent responses also raised some critical issues in their civics learning. In *Media resources*, eight students suggested for the integration of "educational videos", "documentaries" and personal computers to access the internet. The internet and other digital mediums of technology and communication are emerging as key platforms for democratic participation in the twenty-first century's digital age (cf Bennett, 2008). And finally, in addition to media, eight other students stressed on the difficulties of Arabic as the medium of instruction in *Language*. Their comments either suggested to simplify the terminologies used or to provide a civics curriculum in English. Across *Suggestions*, the students have touched on numerous dimensions in their civics learning, many of which fed back into the themes that have emerged so far. However, I bring in one last finding that did not directly appear in the students' survey packs. Instead, it emerges as a result from my observations in data collection.

7.5 An observation

During the school visits, I observed a particular mood that I found rather worrying regarding a particular group of students' motivations to learn which appears to have a direct consequence on this group's civics learning experiences. In numerous schools, while teachers were selecting year 10 and 11 classrooms to participate in the study, they tended direct me towards classrooms in the *Scientific* section since "they have many more things to say than the *Literary*", "they are really strong" and "are very active and lively". Still, I insisted on visiting both classrooms and, indeed, the teachers were right. The students in the *Literary* did not elaborate as much in their comments and showed less enthusiasm and participation in the group discussions as did the *Scientific*. So, these

observations raised some points of concern regarding the Lebanese education system in relation to overall student motivation and civics learning.

In the Lebanon's secondary school education system, all students are required to sit for the Baccalaureate I exam (Bacc I) which the government administers after the ninth year of Basic Education (also refer back to Table 1.2 in the Introduction). However, students must decide whether to sit for the *Scientific* or *Literary* component of the Bacc I. However, those who fail the *Scientific* get placed in the *Literary* program. The former is regarded as a high-stakes program with a difficult and demanding Bacc I exam since *Scientific* prepares students for entrance into traditionally and culturally high-esteemed university programs of study – medicine and engineering. Therefore, the placement into *Literary* as a consequence of failing the highly valued *Scientific* exam appears as a form of “making do with second-best”. And thus, from my observations on the degrees of students' efforts in participating in the study and a degree of certain teachers' preferential attitudes, I raise a concern on the extent to which the education system of *Scientific* and *Literary* acts as a barrier to civics learning.

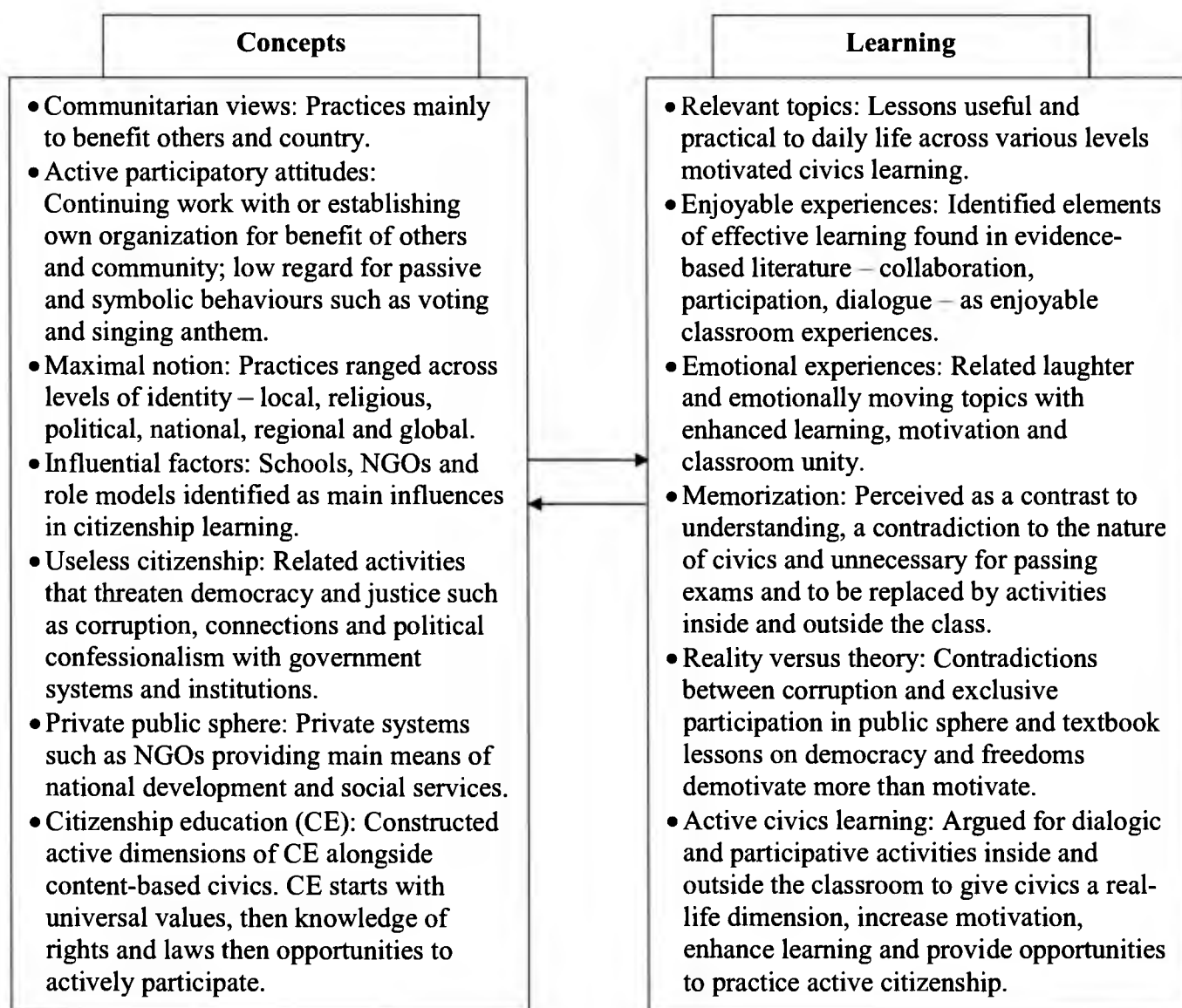
In this chapter, I have presented and discussed students' issues and concerns that have emerged from their challenges and opportunities in civics learning from Section II of the survey pack. In the preceding chapter, I presented their conceptualizations of good citizenship which they constructed in Section I of the survey pack. Looking closely at the findings from these two areas, I close this chapter by discussing several key relationships that have emerged between their conceptualizations of citizenship and their learning experiences in the civics classroom.

7.6 Students' citizenships and civics learning

In chapters 6 and 7, I have presented the findings from Section I and Section II of the survey pack, respectively. In the first section, students constructed their conceptualizations of good citizenship and, in the second, they reflected on their civics learning experiences. I have summarized the key emerging themes under two columns in

Figure 7.4, “Concepts” and “Learning”. Furthermore, the two arrows that bridge the columns together question the extent to which their understandings of good citizenship and their learning experiences inside the classroom influence each other. Indeed, these students have surfaced such a relationship. In this chapter’s final section, I look closely at this relationship and discuss two emerging themes that address the challenges of civics learning in the *National and Civic Education* classrooms and of citizenship education for social cohesion and democracy in a post-conflict society like Lebanon.

Figure 7.4 Summary of students’ concepts and learning experiences



7.6.1 The Catch-22 of civic education

Students constructed an active and participatory conception of citizenship through their concerns for individuals in need and the welfare of their surrounding communities. As suggested earlier by Hoskins et al. (2008), this high degree of participatory attitude may well possibly be motivated by the context of an unstable democracy. However, while their maximal notions of citizenship may provide the essential motivations for social cohesion and democracy, **the perceptions of an unstable government, prescriptive curriculum and surface approaches to learning** emerge as primary factors that challenge the direction of students' constructs of active citizenship towards reform of government systems and institutions; thus, creating a no-win situation.

Firstly, their high degrees of participation and active citizenship in the public sphere are geared towards private systems rather than government ones. Their mentions of NGOs and other private institutions as contexts for participation suggest a citizenship **more confident and more secure** in privatized systems. Moreover, their constructs of active citizenship through non-government systems create a new, private public sphere; one that is separated from the perceived instabilities of its government systems and institutions. Hence, this limits the extent to which students develop a democratic citizenship for tackling the perceived troubles in and through Lebanon's government systems.

Secondly, students experienced a large degree of tensions between their maximal notions of citizenship and the perceived contradictions interpreted from the civics textbooks. While civic education in Lebanon aims at creating the democratic citizen for the nation-state, students were critical of civics since they felt it did not confront real-life issues. Consequently, civic education appeared as a **prescription** for democracy and justice and, given the perceived unstable government system that produced the textbook, the majority of students found it hypocritical. This factor created degrees of low-confidence which further challenges their motivation to learn the skills and content knowledge of civic institutions necessary for social cohesion, justice and democracy. Hence, these two factors create a vicious circle whereby students with active conceptualizations of

citizenship motivated by an unstable democracy may not be able to contribute towards its progress **because of** the repercussions of the unstable democracy:

1. The intervention of NGOs and privatized systems developing a citizenship for the private public sphere; and
2. The prescriptions for democracy and justice in the civics textbooks by an unstable government results in perceived hypocrisies of the state and its education.

In short, while an unstable democracy leads students to be active and participative, activities with private organizations create an active citizenship marginalized from the challenged government systems in need of such democratic and active contributions. So, in effect, the unstable democracy stays unstable and the private systems continue to deliver social services throughout the public sphere.

This catch-22 of education for citizenship in Lebanon is not unique. Similar factors found in the apparent standstill of learning citizenship in a paradoxical context also appear in other studies of education for citizenship. I illustrate this in contexts of elitist government systems and other post-conflict societies. The students in this study identified tensions between education and Lebanon's elitist consociational democracy and political confessionalism. In Burton's (1984) argument on the effect of elitist-run democracies on education, he cites a speech by Professor C. Alger who maintains that education and socialization in elitist government systems results in "*periphery mentality*" and a "*myth of incompetence*" which prevents people from participating (p. 82). Thus, in Heater's (2004a) summary of Alger's argument, Alger calls for better education for "citizen self-confidence" (p. 337). However, it is important to re-emphasize that these students' low levels of motivation are towards participating in government systems rather than participation in general. Lebanon's elitist consociational democracy may play a controversial role in psychologically marginalizing participation and lowering citizen confidence.

In other empirical studies, factors found in Lebanon's catch-22 of civic education have also emerged among teachers and parents in Weinstein et al.'s (2007) studies of citizenship education in four identity-based post-conflict societies: Croatia, Kosovo,

Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda. Across these societies, teachers and parents described levels of “mistrust of political structures and institutions” (p. 59) as some of the challenges in education for development.

Despite the vicious cycle of students driving further away from an unstable democracy in need of its active youth, the evidence suggests some clues that may help unlock this situation. The majority of the students complained about one of two things. The first was the condition of the society and the second was the textbook’s prescriptive approach. From this, the students argued during the classroom discussions that the solution was to fix society and then teach civics. However, within their written and verbal comments was another approach, an educational one. Since approximately a quarter of the students said that **because** of the unstable condition of society, we need civics, some students made the link between the aims of civic education and the post-conflict context they live in. Therefore, a less magical solution than clearing society from corruption and injustice may indeed be in the presentation of the themes in the civics textbook. While this may come out as a challenge from a government-in-progress, the actual, real-life issues resulting from political confessionalism and an elitist consociational democracy as topics for dialogic and participative learning activities would replace the prescriptive curriculum with a confrontational one. As a result, this may indeed raise the stake and legitimacy of civic education among the students. Furthermore, the transparency of the challenges in government and civil life in the civics textbook may eliminate this feeling of hypocrisy as a barrier to motivation and further engage the students in their civic education for non-privatized national reform in the public sphere.

7.6.2 Barriers to learning active citizenship

The students’ responses illustrated a range of learning experiences. At one end, students found dialogic and participative activities enjoyable while, at the other end, students felt that restrictions in the curriculum, pressures of exams and traditions of memorization limited their opportunities to practice behaviours of active and democratic citizenship. Furthermore, their conceptualizations of active citizenship provide an additional

dimension in understanding their challenges of learning civics. Indeed, from the relationship between their concepts of citizenship and their learning experiences emerge three barriers to learning active citizenship: pedagogical, conceptual and social.

With active and participative constructs of citizenship, students found memorization a pedagogical contradiction to learning of and through active citizenship. Earlier in sections 7.3.1 and 7.4.2, students illustrated this tension. Some students argued that since civics is part of daily life, “we have to live it for real”. Instead, “there is too much memorizing of laws”. Moreover, other researches in Lebanese schools also show the extent to which traditions of memorization continue to dominate classroom pedagogy. In Abouché et al. (2002), students complained about the amount of memorization required to know dates and events. However, students still said that they have to memorize to pass the history official exams (ibid, p. 74). In another related study on teaching and learning in Lebanese public and private schools, Shuayb (2007) found that 62.7% of the students strongly agreed with “My teachers ask me to do a lot of memorizing” (p. 186). Furthermore, she also found through student focus groups that public schools experienced far more barriers to active learning due to teachers lecturing, transmitting knowledge and rarely illustrating the “practical relevance of the information” being learned (ibid, p. 187). These studies further confirm the dominance of memorization and, from the students’ meta-learning, the hindrance memorization has on their learning. In addition, the students in this study further emphasized its contradictory pedagogical practice to the conceptual nature of education for citizenship.

Considering the exceptional opportunities given to activities to **practice** civic skills and the perceived contradictions of democratic **values** while learning civics in the classroom, students have found themselves stuck in the level of “Knowledge of communities” in their three-part model of citizenship education. From the first section of the survey pack, the students’ comments and arrangements of the diamond ranking exercise led to the construction of a three-part model of education for citizenship (see Figure 6.7). This model illustrates a dynamic inter-related process of learning for active citizenship emphasizing universal values as conditions to knowledge and practice, the former a

prerequisite to the latter. However, the students have described their civics learning as one that starts and stops at the **knowledge** level of the model. The contradictions between the book and society undermine the significance of the central, universalistic values. Furthermore, the culture of memorization, the curriculum and textbooks act as barriers towards active participation, the practice dimension. As the findings from the students' survey pack constructed a model of citizenship education, their reflections on civics learning illustrate their education for citizenship as locked in the knowledge dimension with a tense educational understanding of universal values and limited access to active participation.

And, lastly, for the social barriers to learning citizenship, several students raised the issue of Arabic as a mode of instruction for civics which brings to concern the role of nationalism in Lebanon's education for inclusive, participative and democratic citizenship. Following Lebanon's independence from the French mandate, curriculum development in 1943 emphasized on the Arabic language, history and geography as educational means for a nationalistic citizenship for unity and social cohesion (Frayha, 2003). Thus, the Ministry of Education, three years later, decreed the central role of the Arabic language in citizenship education (ibid, p. 83). Henceforth, geography, history and civics were taught and examined only in Arabic. However, in the twenty-first century, a context of global diversity and inclusion, Lebanon's nationalism in its political, social and educational agendas may indeed limit social and political progress in Lebanon's sectarian society.

In Lebanon, nationalism prevails over cosmopolitanism since it provides an **essential platform of common ground** for Lebanon's pluralisms and diversities. However, from the class discussions in some of the private schools, particularly in Beirut – a province more cosmopolitan than the others – many of the students have stronger English or French skills than Arabic. Consequently, they felt that such a limitation leads them to memorize certain lines or phrases from the book since they do not feel confident in expressing themselves as well in Arabic. In Abouchedid et al.'s (2002) study, students also complained about the difficulty of Arabic being the mode of instruction in history

class. Furthermore, from my experience as a teacher in a private school in Lebanon, students in other private schools have the option of enrolling in school systems other than the Lebanese one such as the High School Diploma (U.S.), Graduate Certificate of Secondary Education (U.K.) and the International Baccalaureate. Hence, students in these privatized education systems in Lebanon graduate having little or no exposure to the Lebanese civics, history or geography curricular programs of study. While the Arabic language in Lebanon's educational programs for citizenship practically and symbolically functions for social cohesion, having citizenship education in English or French may appear as a threat to nationalism and its aims for peace and development. However, continuing to promote Arabic as the only mode of instruction for Lebanon's educational programs for citizenship may socially and politically marginalize students stronger in the Arabic language from those less advantaged and, thus, contradict Lebanon's civic virtues of plurality and inclusion.

The relationship between their conceptualizations of active citizenship and their wide range of learning experiences raised several key themes valuable to the discussion of citizenship education and the extent to which it can contribute to social cohesion and democracy in Lebanon. In the next and final chapter of data analysis, I engage with the findings to explore the commonalities and tensions between the teachers' and students' conceptualizations and experiences in the civic classroom.

Chapter 8

Commonalities and tensions between students and teachers

In this final chapter of data analysis, I bring together the themes that have emerged from the students and teachers. By engaging with these themes, I identify four commonalities and four tensions (see Table 8.1) which address the most significant findings from this research study which essentially explored the extent to which education for citizenship continues to play a critical role for social cohesion, democracy and justice in Lebanon.

Table 8.1 Commonalities and tensions between students and teachers

COMMONALITIES	TENSIONS
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Challenges in curriculum and textbook- Gap between theory and reality- Education for citizenship a vehicle for social cohesion, but raise its stakes- Emotions in teaching and learning	<u>Students versus Teachers</u> Multiple versus National identities Active versus Rote Dialogic versus Dialectic Citizenship education versus Civics

8.1 Common ground among students and teachers

Drawing on the evidence, the students and teachers formed several shared understandings regarding their classroom teaching and learning experiences. These shared views address the challenges they experience regarding the curriculum and the civics textbook and the approaches taken to deal with the apparent gaps between theory and reality. The students and teachers in this study have also valued citizenship education as a critical vehicle for development yet raised concerns regarding its stakes in the Lebanese education system. Lastly, they described the influence of emotions on their teaching and learning inside the classroom.

8.1.1 Challenges shared from the curriculum and textbook

Students and teachers described how the curriculum and textbook set learning hurdles in the civics classroom. They both complained about the repetition of material throughout the civics curriculum and across other programs of study such as sociology and history. Students and teachers also expressed difficulties of complex Arabic sentence structures. Concerning the time table, participants from both maintained that having civics twice a week instead of once would provide more opportunities to experience the activities and projects they find integral to citizenship learning. Moreover, they argued for learning materials that supplement the textbook which, reflecting back on the histo-cultural descriptions of the region in the third chapter, appears to be a recurring issue in education. Historically, education in the Arab [sic] region throughout the twentieth century, classrooms with unequipped spaces “more or less forced [teachers] to use directive methods of instructions, conducive to passive learning” (Massialas & Jarrar, 1983, p. 118). While this tradition, to an extent, continues, teachers and students maintain the necessity of classroom and outdoor supplementary learning materials “like how in science they have labs” (CBJ11). In addition, students and teachers frequently raised the issue of the book that paints a perfect picture. Its minimal or lack of real-life concerns have consequently let the gap between theory and reality widen and demotivate the teachers and students, a second shared matter of concern.

8.1.2 Demotivations from the gap between theory and reality

The students and teachers described a civics textbook that does not address current issues and, instead, presents Lebanon as a model country and **prescribes** civic practices for democracy and justice. As a result of the lack of or minimal attention given to dealing with social and political controversies, the students have described the textbook’s prescriptions as “theoretical”, “misleading” and even “hypocritical”. Moreover, many of the teachers expressed difficulties teaching the lessons since they experienced resistances from the students. As one teacher complained, “the book says that there are no connections [or *wāstas*] in Lebanon” and describes the “role of women being equal to

men” (MNE) which the students saw as contradictory and hypocritical. Even when one of the teachers explained the purpose of the prescriptive textbook to the class, “Because one day maybe one of you will become a deputy or minister”, he recalled a student laughing in response, “My dad nor uncle nor any of my relatives are ministers, so I’ll never be one” (CBB28) illustrating a non-democratic consequence of an elitist consociational democracy. These are some of the real-life issues in Lebanon that students and teachers expressed concerns about and identified as gaps in the civics learning experience.

In addition to the minimal reference to or absence of real-life problems, students and teachers expressed concerns about the prescription of attitudes which, in nature, contradicts democratic civic virtues of critical thinking. For example, students and teachers, in one of the schools, expressed frustrations regarding the lesson in the civics textbook that aims at promoting a special relationship between Lebanon and Syria. This instance raises a concern regarding the extent to which the textbook addresses the aim of critical thinking, one of the nine general aims listed at the start of the civics program of study in the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1997). Therefore, similar to many of the students’ suggestions, a teacher advised, “Bring in the problems we face in society into the classroom” such as “the absence of human rights” and the challenges of democracy and a “national identity” (MxBE). Confronting such realities would, as the students described, make the civics class more realistic and less theoretical. Moreover, real-life lessons may also raise the motivational levels of students to learn civics; especially since findings in Figure 7.1 revealed a majority of students enjoyed topics they could relate to.

8.1.3 Citizenship education is crucial, but raise the stakes

Another discussion initiated by these findings starts to examine the challenge of addressing civics as a subject perceived with great importance yet treated with low academic value. All the teachers, the vast majority of the students and the MOE regard education for active citizenship essential for democracy, justice and peace. Indeed, citizenship education in Lebanon has been the central theme of the past three national

curriculum reforms: 1946, 1968 (cf Frayha, 1995) and 1997 (cf Shuayb, 2005b). However, despite teachers' and students' positive attitudes towards citizenship education, they still described low levels of motivation to teach and learn it since schools and the MOE treats it as a low-stake subject. For instance, in school, civics is oftentimes regarded as a "free subject" and, as some teachers illustrated, if students have a free lesson, school administration says, "Give them civics" and if they need an extra lesson for math or science, "Take civics". Also, one of the teachers talked about school administrations' attitudes that "any teacher can teach this subject because they didn't know how important or valuable this subject was" (DMU10). Hence, it appears to be exceptional to hire civics teachers with formal qualifications to teach civic education; in the case of this study, none of the teachers received formal civics training.

In addition, teachers related its low-stake status with its standing as the lowest coefficient in official exams along with history and geography. This seems rather ironic since, as Frayha (2005) describes, the programs of study for civics, history and geography have been designed as educational subjects for citizenship learning. Still, as some teacher's described, such practices by the school and in the structure of government exams make it "non-profitable" and thus "students are no longer interested in neither civics nor in its contents" (CBB22). Several students confirmed this and felt that civics was "taking time from other more important lessons to study; i.e. math...especially we are scientific students!" One of the roots of a subject's low-stake status in school is a consequence of the low amount of value it is perceived to have in examinations (Madaus, 1988). Nevertheless, four students did suggest that schools "consider it an important subject" and to "[give] these sessions more importance from schools and teachers". Thus, figures from the top would need to consider initiatives regarding its numerical value in official exams to help raise the stakes of civics as a subject critical for active citizenship.

8.1.4 Emotions in teaching and learning

Teachers' and students' reflections from the civics classroom illustrated the extent to which emotions play a considerable role in their teaching and learning experiences. Some

students identified enjoyable learning experiences with topics and lessons that would move them or “touch you from the inside” like slavery, inequalities, the resistance and the welfare of the nation. Also, teachers found that certain discussions which were emotionally moving, such as women’s roles in society, had engaged the class into dialogic and participative activities which, described by teachers, were beneficial to the students’ civics learning experience. However, other emotionally-related incidents demonstrated adverse learning experiences. Some students preferred to avoid particular subjects such as politics since political discussions, as several students recalled, caused levels of anxiety in the classroom. Teachers, too, described the emotional demands of facilitating debates and discussions in the classrooms, especially when students “can’t get out of...politics” (MxBE). As many of the teachers explained, their perceptions and experiences of political discussions being controversial and emotionally strenuous have led them to avoid or prevent such dialogic activities from happening. Moreover, such aversions may have also reinforced the myth of a legislative ban of political discussions in the classroom. In addition, teachers who do value such dialogic activities still find difficulties in facilitating debates and trying to take neutral positions because, as they described, they still get emotionally involved. In the pilot study, however, a teacher described how the introduction of students’ reflective journals helped manage some of the emotions in the classroom after controversial discussions (Akar, 2006).

In the twenty-first century, there still exists a paucity of research in emotions resulting from the teaching and learning of controversial topics in the classroom. This may have possibly resulted from professionals stressing that “emotions are constructed as antithetical to reasoning” (DeCuir-Gunby & Williams, 2007, p. 207) and as a consequence of science traditions that have “‘truth’ and reason on one side, and ‘subjective bias’ and emotion on the other” (Boler, 1999, p. xv). Still, however, students and teachers do not come into class with *tabula rasae* of values and beliefs. In DeCuir-Gunby and Williams’ (2007) study on emotions and racism in the classroom, they maintain that students enter class with past experiences and sensitivities which, through speech, can trigger emotions such as “shock, fear, anger, and anxiety” (p. 209). Furthermore, while students have opportunities to express their beliefs and values,

teachers, on the other hand, experience “emotional labour” in suppressing or managing feelings throughout various emotional events (Schutz, Cross, Hong, & Osbon, 2007, p. 231). These examples illustrate some of the complexities of emotions in teaching and learning. And while they highlight the importance of further discussions and research on emotions in education for citizenship, existing literature provides some initial points of departure. For instance, in addressing social control and political agendas of emotions, Boler (1999) argues for the increased considerations of “emotional literacy” through an explicit curriculum (p. 81). And, in the context of controversial topics in classrooms, Burgess (2007) presents an introductory guide to dealing with emotions and conflict resolution during class discussions since “these discussions can be very beneficial to student learning if they are facilitated well; they can be very detrimental to learning and the overall classroom environment if they are not”.

The students’ survey packs and teacher interviews created several commonalities where they share similar experiences and points of views. In addition, the concerns that emerged initiate discussions for further investigations and explorations into curriculum design, assessment policies and the educational management of emotions in learning for active citizenship. At the same time, the findings show differences between teachers and students which address some of the challenges of teaching and learning civics in Lebanon (see Table 8.1). The following explores these by also revisiting some of the discussions from the literature review that demonstrated conceptual tensions of citizenship and citizenship education.

8.2 Tensions in citizenship education: Students versus teachers

The evidence shows differences and contentions in teaching and learning civics. Conceptually, students have illustrated a multiple-levelled conception of citizenship while teachers focus on a national-based one. On reflections of their classroom experiences, teachers have described practices that suggest rote learning and dialectic communication which contrast to students’ descriptions of learning active citizenship through participative and dialogic experiences. Lastly, these differences and their

emerging tensions also raise a discussion regarding the extent to which civics provides the necessary educational experiences for learning active citizenship.

8.2.1 Multiple versus national identities

In describing practices of citizenship, students and teachers differed in their conceptualizations of identity levels where students described participatory behaviours across multiple levels while teachers maintained a citizenship at a national level. The students most frequently related practices of citizenship to the national level such as building for the country and making the nation proud. On a cultural level, students mentioned certain democratic and humanistic behaviours through social, political and religious institutions. In addition, students identified practices at regional levels when mentioning Arab neighbours and at global levels when commenting about Africa and the environment. Although the students related to regional and global levels in low frequencies, they still constructed a more apparent multiple-levelled identity of citizenship than did the teachers who primarily focused on the national one. According to the teachers, the purpose of citizenship education was to promote the national Lebanese identity. Seldom did teachers discuss practices at cultural and global levels. Although, when they did, one valued the importance of cultural identities “because they represent the freedom of identity” and three teachers made reference to a global one when discussing the environment. The difference of multiple levels of identity and a national level among the students and teachers, respectively, raises two key discussions addressing a conceptual model of identity levels and the extent to which nationalism in Lebanon can promote democracy and justice in the twenty-first century.

At the start of the second chapter of this thesis, I described how individuals can form relationships, or feelings and practices of citizenship, with various levels of communities. In illustrating this, I also introduced Banks’ (2004) diagram which shows a citizenship of multiple identities comprising a national, cultural and global level to which I added a regional one. So, if we were to reproduce the students’ and teachers’ levels of identities in their conceptualizations of citizenship, their multiple and national levels would appear

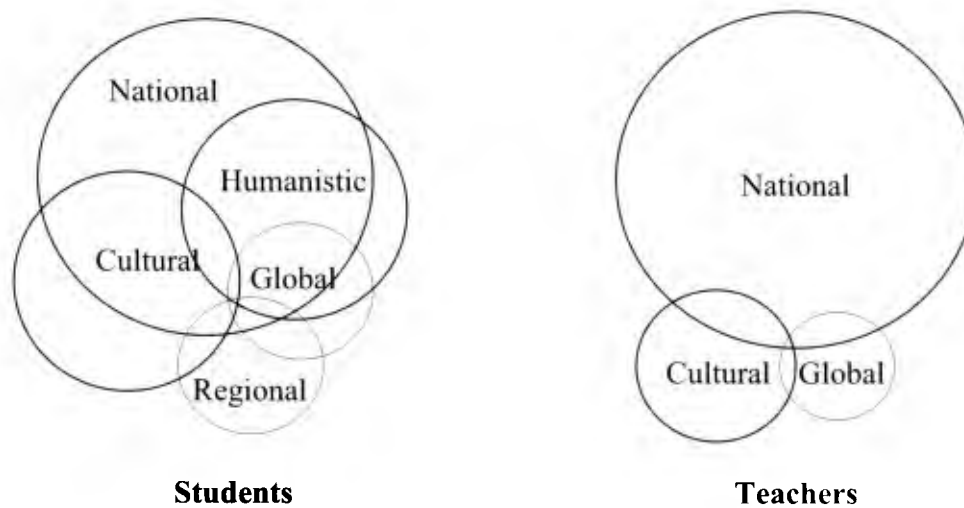
close to those drawn in Figure 8.1. However, in revisiting Banks' diagram with considerations of the students' findings, I raise the question of identifying an identity level for practices directed towards individuals or groups of individuals. From the students' conceptualizations of citizenship, a significant portion of activities they have either done or would like to do are directly related to benefiting individuals or the **community of individuals**. These feelings of commitment or belonging bring to surface a possible **humanistic level** of identity. So, if we can assume that such a level extends beyond the national, cultural and global domains, then the emergence of a humanistic level initiates numerous discussions questioning the validity of a normative model of citizenship's identity levels such as the one proposed by Banks.

The second discussion that emerges from this difference questions nationalism as a driving force **in the classroom** and as **an aim of education**. In the classroom, students' multiple levels of identity and the teachers' national level influences, to a degree, the teaching and learning of citizenship. After completing the survey pack in one of the participating classrooms, a young girl started the class discussion,

I have an identity crisis. I was born in the States, I think I'm Armenian, but I've lived all my life in Lebanon. I relate more to Lebanon than any other country. My Arabic sucks which is obvious. In civics, part of your identity should be your language.

Other students nodded and one said, "I have the same crisis...I speak four languages". Moreover, students across some of the schools expressed concern of the Arabic language being a denominator of a Lebanese citizenship which brings back the discussion of the limitations of nationalism in education. These students' concerns raise questions on the extent to which nationalism, in education and society, can support the multicultural backgrounds of individuals and their education for active citizenship.

Figure 8.1 Diagram of teachers' concept of identity for citizenship in Lebanon



In section 7.6.2, I discussed the evidence that suggested educational programs of study designed for citizenship (civics, history and geography) taught only in Arabic were potential barriers to learning active citizenship. However, it is important to highlight the critical and historical role of the Arabic language and other nationalistic tools in education for social cohesion since the legal status of being Lebanese and the regional identity of being Arab provide common ground among religious and political diversities. Still, the same degree of nationalism of 1946-Lebanon potentially risks the promotion of racism and social exclusion in twenty-first century Lebanon which Guibernau (2007) illustrates as the dark side of nationalism. In modern Lebanon, the nation-state comprises other communities in its multiculturalism including Armenians, Palestinians and Syrians in addition to a minor non-Arabic-speaking Lebanese and non-Lebanese population. Therefore, the differences between students' multiple-levelled identities and teachers' national-based one raise sensitive issues regarding the tension between nationalistic education for social cohesion and the potential risks of social exclusion. One sensitive issue, for instance, questions the extent to which Lebanon is prepared to shift from the Arabic curriculum that nationalized the country after the French mandate into an ongoing era of diversity. So, while this difference between teachers and students opens discussions on the tensions of nationalism for the progress of Lebanon in a diverse and globalized world, another difference addresses tensions in pedagogy. These pedagogical

disparities have been a fundamental root of the challenges and opportunities of learning for active citizenship.

8.2.2 Active versus rote learning

One school in the south of Lebanon had piloted a community service program consisting of hours compulsory to graduation which students praised as an educational experience in their conceptualizations of citizenship and reflections on enjoyable practices. Another school had mock elections which teachers and students also frequently discussed as a critical experience in their civic education. Also, a teacher from the pilot study described how the introduction of self-reflection journals for the students helped diffuse their emotional distresses from in-class debates. However, in this study, schools that facilitated such activities were the exception. Although the majority of students and teachers described activities related to active learning such as constructing knowledge and practicing skills of democratic citizenship, teachers' reflections of actual practice showed otherwise. Evidence from the teachers suggested that practices in the classroom mainly involved surface approaches to learning while students' reflections demonstrated desires for dialogic and participative activities informed by their conceptualizations of citizenship.

Teachers

While teachers highlighted the importance of practicing civics for social cohesion, justice and peace, they still emphasized the **pressures of passing exams** and expressed degrees of **low confidence in student learning**. The pressures of passing exams led to surface approaches to learning in the classroom. Indeed, approaches to learning depend on the **perceived objectives** where learning for testing results in surface approaches while learning for application leads to deep approaches (Marton & Säljö, 1976a, 1976b). So, from these pressures of passing exams, most of the teachers argued that some things in civics “need memorizing”. And since students have described memorization as a barrier to their citizenship learning, the teachers' adamant support for such a strategy raises two inter-related topics for discussion. The first point of inquiry questions the extent to which

traditions of memorization that have historically dominated education in West Asia and North Africa after the 1500s still exist in the twenty-first century (cf Massialas & Jarrar, 1983, in chapter 3 of this thesis). Such traditions may have led to the main learning experiences of these teachers who have found them to be effective in passing tests. However, by looking carefully at the 2007 civics official exams, the questions appear to evaluate independent and critical thinking (see Appendix M) and, thus, do not suggest the encouragement for rote learning (though the provision of answer keys may, see Appendices P₁-P₄). Therefore, as only one teacher rejected the notion that rote learning is necessary to pass the official exam, the idea that rote learning is necessary for the official exams has emerged as a common belief within a culture of memorization.

A second point initiates a discussion regarding the levels of doubt teachers have in students' independent learning which have, in the cases in this study, resulted in passive learning activities. Whether their perceptions came from the beliefs and traditions of memorization or vice versa, just over half the teachers have expressed low levels of confidence in students' constructions and discoveries of knowledge. For instance, a teacher expressed limitations of dialogic activities among students in grade eight who "are still not able to express their ideas; that's why I ask them to memorize" (MBA). Thus, some teachers would also provide students with summaries to memorize for tests which, as the evidence shows, appeared as common practice. One teacher described how students need these summaries to pass the tests and reflected on a time when he purposely did not prepare a summary, "They were lost [and]...they failed" (MNE). Another teacher found this "strategy" of providing students with summaries "to be very effective" because "this is a serious subject with concepts they need to memorize...things they are responsible for which they will be asked about" (CBJ10). Although outlines may help aid the organization of information, the result of students failing when a teacher interrupts the provision of a routine summary is evidence that such materials may actually impede learning and prevent learner responsibility when summaries are created by teachers for the purpose of memorization for passing exams.

The pressures of passing exams continue, to a large extent, to contribute to the culture of memorization and to the low confidence levels of student-constructed learning. Consequently, teachers have facilitated passive learning activities which most of the students, through their comments, find have little place for in their learning for active citizenship – a tension from their differences of active and rote learning.

Students

The evidence from the students' conceptualizations and their learning experiences show that the vast majority of students from this sample come into the classroom with maximal notions of citizenship **and** with the understanding that learning for active citizenship involves dialogic and participative activities. Nearly all students described activities that enhanced or would enhance their civics learning as contrasts to the existing practices of memorization. In addition, frequent examples of learning activities which students related to enjoyable learning included debates, discussions and mock elections. They also listed activities outside the classroom such as community service, field trips and, in place of exams, action research projects. Furthermore, students supported these activities because they found opportunities to express themselves and collaborate with classmates and the teacher. Evidence also shows that students endorsed dialogic and participative learning activities since they informed the nature of civic education and their conceptualizations of active citizenship. More so, these activities fall in line with elements of active and effective learning (cf Alexander, 2005; Mercer, 2000, 2007; Watkins et al., 2007).

Teachers and students have expressed ideas and experiences of active learning in civic education. However, the majority of teachers described practices of memorization as a learning strategy due to the pressures of passing exams. This raises tensions with students who want opportunities to collaborate, participate and dialogically engage with others to inform their concepts of active citizenship and to fill up the gaps caused by the current passive activities. Furthermore, evidence has shown that these tensions may possibly lower learner responsibility and reduce student motivation. These findings and tensions of active and passive learning activities raise other key discussions questioning the extent

to which standardized testing, traditions of rote learning and teacher confidence levels in dialogic and collaborative activities for learning affect learning for active citizenship. The following section looks further into a tension that has emerged from an existing pedagogical activity in the classroom – talk and the difference between teachers’ dialectic practices and students’ experiences of dialogic learning.

8.2.3 Dialogic versus dialectic

The teachers and students, through their comments and reflections, illustrated a critical difference in their practices and conceptions of the **dynamics of talk** during classroom activities. The evidence shows that teachers adopt a more dialectic approach to learning while students value a more dialogic approach.

While reflecting on challenging teaching experiences, some teachers described a type of hierarchical, top-down structure of talk between them and the students. As a teacher illustrated, students started “to give their opinions and create illogical examples” in class. “I was not convinced about the examples they gave” and at the “end of the session, they admitted that they were all wrong and that what I told them was right” (MxBE). Furthermore, nearly half the teachers described difficulties in “convincing them” of what is right and wrong, especially when students identify contradictions in their perception of a prescriptive civics textbook. A teacher (CNBz15) further illustrated this viewpoint of talk in the classroom:

Teacher: ...when we look at reality, such as the rights of the citizen, the government is not giving the citizen his rights. Here we see a few arguments. We are talking in theory, but in reality, it’s not happening. So we tell them that it’s because Lebanon passed through a time of war and it needs time to improve politically and it needs awareness from its people. This is how I try to link theories with facts.

Akar: And you talked about this in class?

T: Yes.

A: After that what did they say?

T: They were partially convinced. At least this question will not confuse them anymore. They will not keep asking why.

This teacher, like several others, stressed that one of the main challenges of teaching came from the students' perceptions of the contradictions between what the book is trying to teach and the realities students experience in their daily lives. However, descriptions of teachers' frustrations in trying to "tell them" in order to "convince" or have them stop "asking why" illustrates a rather **rigid communicative relationship** between teachers and students which may indeed be the underpinning cause of some of their challenges. The students, on the other hand, have described more willing, participative and constructive dynamics of talk.

Students, through their comments in the survey packs, identified opportunities to discuss and debate in the classroom with **enjoyable learning experiences** and as **integral functions for active citizenship**. As learning activities, some students felt that debates and discussions allowed them to express themselves and "give our opinions freely". Quite frequently, students enjoyed opportunities of talk since they learned about others' perspectives, particularly during sensitive issues like political parties. Students also enjoyed the experiences of collaborating with colleagues and the teacher during in-class discussions. In addition, some students also found that debates were part of the skills necessary for diversity since debating in class gives them opportunities to learn how to "avoid problems like talking and interruption so we would know how to talk and debate in life." In another study on history and religious education in Lebanon, "the majority of students showed a penchant towards knowing the beliefs of others...and giving their opinions despite the presence of diversified ideas" (Abouchedid et al., 2002, p. 78). When asked in the questionnaire, "A discussion about philosophical topic took place in the classroom: How do you behave", 68.6% of the students ticked the box "I give my opinion despite the presence of many diversified ideas which might not approve of" with less than a fifth of the students preferring not to participate (see Table 3 in Abouchedid et al, 2002, p. 77). This triangulates with the finding that the majority of students have a desire to engage in **participative and constructive talks** in the classroom. However, many students do not have opportunities to engage in such dialogic activities since some teachers fear controversial talks spiralling out of control with possible repercussions from

home. Thus, these concerns on the dynamics of talk when learning for active citizenship initiate discussions on the differences between dialectic and dialogic pedagogy.

In education, student-student and student-teacher dialogic interactions stand out as a fundamental approach to learning and as a skill in the development of one's citizenship for active participation (cf Dewey, 1944 [1916]; Freire, 1970). Yet, Wegerif (2008) maintains the "widespread misunderstanding of the nature of dialogic" in education research and thus builds a distinction between 'dialogic' and 'dialectic'. **Dialogic**, which Wegerif (ibid) finds most appropriately described by Bakhtin, occurs through human relationships for inquiry, exploration, construction and reconstruction based on a "relation of difference or differentiating" (p. 354). Wegerif contrasts this to **dialectic** referring to Vygotsky's activities of mediation and instruction to overcome and synthesize differences. In addition, Dewey (1944 [1916]) makes a similar distinction and although he does not specifically refer to dialogic and dialectic *per se*, he does warn against the "affair of 'telling' and being told" in contrast to an "active and constructive process" (p. 38) illustrating the dialectic-dialogic schism in teaching and learning. Alexander (2005), who specifically attempts to describe "dialogic teaching", does so by contrasting it to "compliance with prescription or rhetoric" (p. 8). Hence, dialogic and dialectic pedagogy are grounded in opposing dynamics of talk. Dialogic processes focus on the **collective and constructive exploration** of ideas or, according to Bakhtin (1981), sustaining the ongoing life of the word (p. 280). However, through dialectics, ideas are **communicated and transmitted** rather than constructed and reconstructed. Hence, the evidence suggests that teachers have ascribed to dialectic approaches to teaching through convincing and telling while students contended for their participation in dialogic learning.

Students who engaged in dialogue in the classroom described their experiences as opportunities that allowed them to actively participate in their learning with their peers and teachers demonstrated dialogic practice as a basic and essential component of their learning. The construction of knowledge is rarely an individual activity since learning also occurs through talk during social activities (Mercer, 1995). Mercer (2000) refers to

this as “collective thinking” (pp. 148-149). Through these, “dialogue prompts reflection, critical investigation, analysis, interpretation and reorganization of knowledge” in addition to “unintended outcomes” and “complex understandings” which enhance learning and benefit the learner (Carnell & Lodge, 2002, p. 15). Watkins (2005) too emphasizes a dual effect of dialogue in learning, or “dialogic talk” for “rich learning” which results in “explaining one’s ideas to others helps to create and refine them, while authentic interchange between people generates new understandings and possibilities” (p. 121). However, since dialogue involves dynamics of relationships which include elements such as trust, openness to new ideas and management of emotions (Carnell & Lodge, 2002), dialogic activities in classrooms may yield certain risks such as conflicts and tensions. Evidence from this study illustrated some of these tensions and teachers described how they discouraged the facilitation of debates in the classroom while several students suggested an avoidance of political discussions. Still, to minimize these risks, dialogic interactions need people to be open to other points of view, active in building ideas and take time to think and listen (Carnell & Lodge, 2002). So, while dialogue in the classroom provides the essential means for exploring, discovering and reflecting, it also values a context of diversity and differences while also encouraging inclusive participation, all of which reflect aims of education for active citizenship.

Certain educationalists and political leaders in the twenty-first century have pushed for dialogue as a means for rising out of oppression and sustaining democratic living. One of the dialogic activities includes asking questions which encourages curiosity and allows for the discovery of the “living, powerful and dynamic” relationship between words and actions (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 38). So, an education of answers rather than asking questions is a “castration of curiosity” (ibid, p. 35). Moreover, Freire (1970) and Giroux (2001) emphasize dialogue as a fundamental and collective action taken for freedom, justice and critical thinking when fighting oppressors. Khātami (2000), too, stresses on the importance of dialogue for rational and critical thinking since “no thinker can blindly follow the clergy, however outstanding they are – unless religious leaders are among the Infallibles (p. 35). And while Khātami regards the religious leaders Motahhari and Sadr as “pioneers” and “indeed worthy of tremendous respect” (p. 36), “I do not believe that

great figures such as Motahhari and Sadr had the last word in religious and intellectual matters” (p. 35). In addition to dialogic participation in the political sphere, dialogue also emerges as a key educational aim for citizenship. In the Lebanese national curriculum, the fourth of nine general aims for National and Civic Education states “To teach how to critique, debate and to accept the other and to solve conflicts with his peers through a spirit of peace, justice and equality” (Ministry of Education, 1997). Also, Spain’s education system strongly promotes active citizenship and Unit 6 (Democracy and citizenship) in the one-year Ethics course in secondary school is based on the values for “dialogue and participation, freedom and responsibility, and justice and tolerance in democratic societies” (Méndez García, 2006, p. 207).⁴³ So, dialogue based on grounds of differentiation, practices of collective action and critical and rational thinking illustrates an active and educational practice of citizenship for co-existence and democratic living. Considering this and dialogue as a principal pedagogy, the actual practice of dialogue inside the classrooms emerges as a valuable component of citizenship education.

The dual pedagogical-citizenship purpose of dialogue raises critical implications of a **dialogic pedagogy for active citizenship**. However, drawing on the evidence, tensions arise from the differences of teachers’ dialectic teaching through communicative and rigid talk versus students’ arguments for dialogic activities to explore, participate and construct ideas. In addition to this difference, I have presented tensions and controversies from student-teacher differences in their multiple versus national levels of identities and their support for active versus rote learning activities. The fourth and final difference in this analysis demonstrates how the former three are inter-related in constructing differences between students’ and teachers’ positions on education for active citizenship.

8.2.4 Citizenship education versus Civics

So far, fundamental differences have emerged in the students’ and teachers’ concepts of citizenship and their educational practices (see Table 8.2). Consequently, these differences have led to several tensions which teachers and students have also described.

⁴³ Méndez García cites the *Real Decreto* (116/2004, p. 5733).

Moreover, their differences and the consequential tensions also address a difference in the students' and teachers' **educational approaches to learning for active citizenship**. From the findings, teachers have presented a content-based, nationalistic civic education which contests the students' motivations for a more participative educational experience that informs their maximal notions of citizenship. This difference brings back the discussion of the conceptual limitations of civic education – the teaching and learning of **content knowledge of laws, government institutions and rights** at the **national level** – for active citizenship, which I presented in the second chapter. So, in this final discussion, I first summarize students' and teachers' differences in their conceptions of citizenship and frameworks of educational training for active citizenship. Then, I demonstrate how these differences raise the discussion on the extent to which civics limits the educational opportunities for learning active citizenship.

Table 8.2 Conceptual differences between students and teachers

	Students	Teachers
Feelings	National, regional, global	National
Practices	Participation for helping others and providing services.	Symbols and passive participation: following laws and fulfilling responsibilities.
Pedagogies	Dialogic and participative activities (debates and research projects).	Memorization and “being convinced”.

Cogan et al. (2002) maintained that conceptions of citizenship education depend on conceptions of citizenship. So, having presented multiple versus national-levelled identities as one of the conceptual differences between students and teachers, respectively, consequential tensions in citizenship education can be expected. When I asked the teachers about their understandings of citizenship and the roles of schools for teaching citizenship, the majority of the teachers built on the importance of identity at the national level. Through nationalism, they identified certain practices that suggested minimalist notions of citizenship and, furthermore, passive learning activities for citizenship which limit the opportunities for developing an active citizenship. For instance, as presented in section 5.1.1, more than half the teachers emphasized the importance of national symbols such as the flag and the anthem and, that, feelings of

belonging are formed when a citizen follows the laws and, so, “must memorize [them]”. On the other hand, students, in the sixth chapter, presented a maximal notion of citizenship addressing national, global, regional and cultural levels of identities through participation, dialogic activities and critical thinking.

The evidence also showed that students and teachers described different frameworks of citizenship. From the students’ conceptualizations of citizenship in the diamond ranking exercise in chapter 6, they provided evidence that suggested a model of citizenship education for active citizenship. This model illustrates the necessary presuppositions of universal values for the learning of content knowledge of laws, rights and historiographies which underpin opportunities to learn through active participation (see Figure 6.7). Similarly, teachers’ reflections of teaching citizenship education also emphasized the importance of values such as equality, forgiveness and acceptance and of the knowledge of national laws, civil rights and national symbols. However, not only did the teachers seldom mention an identity beyond the borders of the nation-state, but they also described a civics educational experience that did not pass the content knowledge dimension of the students’ model into opportunities for active participation. It could be inferred that this was a consequence of pedagogical traditions of memorization and attitudes of “convincing” students of what is taught.

Therefore, the evidence suggests that teachers have described a civic education based on the content knowledge of laws and rights at the national level which appears to conflict with students’ motivations to actively participate in activities related to citizenship behaviours across various levels. This continues the discussion from chapter 2 on the limitation of civic education for active citizenship.

At the start of the second chapter, I defined active citizenship as an aim of citizenship education in the development of practices and feelings grounded in humanistic and democratic values that lead to change contrasted by passive participation such as following laws and not littering. In short, active citizenship provides opportunities for individuals to be **political and social agents for progress and development across**

communities. I also illustrated that education for active citizenship requires that content knowledge such as human rights education and comparative history education provide requisite foundations for the actual practices of democratic participation and critical thinking. And since, conceptually, civic education primarily addresses the **content knowledge of laws, government institutions and rights** at the **national level**, the *National and Civic Education* classroom alone may not suffice in providing an educational experience necessary for active citizenship.

Nevertheless, the Lebanese authorities have recognized citizenship education as a crucial vehicle for promoting nationalism as a platform for social cohesion. Hence, they have designed **civics** as a specialized educational subject for active citizenship by explicitly listing participation, dialogue, consensus, critical thinking and the formation of a dual Lebanese-Arab identity as some of the general aims of the national curriculum and of the civics program of study. However, based on the evidence of teachers and students, the actual practice of civic education appears much more limited than the intended design of civics in Lebanon. Findings from the teachers and students show that, in reality, civic education focuses mainly on content knowledge, only a portion of the necessary education for active citizenship. This further supports the conceptual limitation of civics as an educational subject matter for active citizenship.

Moreover, numerous factors have also contributed to the barriers preventing educational opportunities of active participation in the students' model such as the culture of memorization, curriculum design and pressures from assessment and official exams. Therefore, while the authorities who wrote the rationale and the aims of the national curriculum and the students in this study conceive a vision of a more active citizenship, the actual practices of rote learning, prescriptive textbooks and limited opportunities to practice restrain the Lebanese civics program of study into its conceptual nature of content knowledge of government at the national level.

In summary, students' desires to participate in activities that inform their maximal conceptualizations of citizenship contest a civic education that focuses on a content-

knowledge dimension limited only towards the nation-state. Students have conceptualized citizenship as active and participative and thus argued that the classroom pedagogies of memorization and the learning of laws and government systems do not give justice to their civic education. And so, the students' educational experiences describe a civic education that appears to educate for the creation of mere law-abiding citizens rather than active, participative and critical members of the public and global spheres; in particular, as agents for progress and development within Lebanon's government systems and public institutions.

Before turning to the conclusion chapter of this thesis, I bring an additional discussion concerning a certain topic that students and teachers did **not** discuss or reflect on which emerge as findings in themselves. Neither the students nor the teachers in the main study discussed any experiences of **reflection in the classroom**. In the pilot study, however, a teacher introduced reflection journals as an activity to deal with the emotional aftermaths of controversial debates which resulted in (Akar, 2006). As students "got into it", the journals also provided opportunities to reflect on their learning and talk about their skills as listeners (ibid, pp. 55-56). The absence of reflective activities or experiences in the main study raises the stakes of teacher training. Moreover, it introduces the discussion on the extent to which classrooms practice and may begin to consider reflective exercises to help diffuse some of the emotional intensities they have related with positive and challenging experiences in the civics classroom.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

Development in Lebanon is set within a context of diversity and its consequential tensions and conflicts. As one of the numerous agencies for development and progress, education has long-time played a critical role in Lebanon by addressing global change and national conflicts. More specifically, citizenship education and its specially designed program of study, *National and Civic Education*, have aimed at developing certain identities and practices for social cohesion, democracy, peace and justice. Despite the paucity of research on citizenship education in Lebanon, findings in the past decade have raised concerns and questions regarding the extent to which practices of teaching and learning promote the training of active citizenship for the political, social, economic and environmental spheres in Lebanon. In this thesis, teachers and students in years 10 and 11 in private schools constructed their conceptualizations of active citizenship and described what they perceived as barriers and opportunities to teaching and learning it. To conclude this exploratory study of citizenship education in Lebanon, I highlight the contributions to knowledge, present evidence-based recommendations and discuss implications for further research.

9.1 Contributions to knowledge

My contributions are discoveries in exploring and understanding the gap between rhetoric and reality, intention and implementation in citizenship education in Lebanon. In Lebanon, there is neither research, to date, on teaching and learning inside the civics classrooms nor on students' conceptualizations of citizenship. Hence, this research study is the first to explore constructs of citizenship and teaching and learning experiences in civic education classrooms. In this conclusion chapter, I present contributions to knowledge in citizenship and citizenship education in Lebanon and post-conflict societies from the students' and teachers' findings and from the innovations in the methodology.

9.1.1 Students' constructions of reality

The research design is grounded in a social constructivist paradigm where 435 students described their experiences of good citizenship and reflected on their civics learning experiences. The responses and comments from the survey pack and the class discussion resulted in findings which revealed:

- a communitarian and maximal notion of citizenship;
- tensions between their conceptualizations of citizenship and their civics learning in school; and
- a model of education for active citizenship.

Student responses to open-ended, self-reflective questions on things they have done, they would like to do and that their role models have done have and the order of the diamond rankings revealed a communitarian and maximal-based conception of citizenship. While some students described minimal behaviours such as not littering and paying taxes, the vast majority of students reflected on practices which involved active levels of engagement such as helping individuals in need, participating in NGO activities and establishing their own organizations to provide social services. These activities also extended beyond the social, political and national levels into environmental, family, humanistic, regional and global dimensions. Furthermore, these findings triangulated with those from the rankings where two-thirds of the students placed *voting* and *singing the national anthem* in the lower region of the diamond figure. They justified these low rankings by expressing their critical views toward the Lebanese government systems and their perceptions of the low impact voting and singing – as passive behaviours – have on active citizenship and democratic participation. One possible explanation for these high levels of participatory attitudes comes from Hoskins et al.'s (2008) suggestion that unstable democracies tend to motivate the youth to participate in political activities. Still, their conceptualizations of citizenship appeared to conflict with their civics learning experiences at school.

The vast majority of the students' learning experiences in the civic education classrooms indicated barriers to learning for active citizenship which consequently suggested a catch-

22 since the students felt their civics learning experiences demotivated them from participating in government systems and institutions. Students enjoyed topics related to their daily lives and lessons which involved discussions and participation amongst each other and with the teacher. However, 43% of the students expressed concerns with memorization since, according to the students' responses, rote learning did not promote the necessary skills for active citizenship since it did not involve any opportunities to practice, discuss or participate. In other words, students felt that memorization in their civics classroom contradicted their constructs of active citizenship. Furthermore, students found the textbook to be of prescriptive nature since it only portrayed the ideals of society rather than confront the social, political and environmental issues that continue to challenge democratic living and social cohesion in Lebanon. Hence, the students perceived the textbook as hypocritical and, thus, demotivating. These themes emerged most frequently as barriers to students' civics learning which also appeared to partially undermine the aims of education for active citizenship in Lebanon.

For social cohesion, the national curriculum in Lebanon primarily aims at developing a citizen who democratically engages within the functions, systems and institutions of the state. However, the students' levels of low confidence in civic education and their active participation through NGO activities suggest a catch-22 in their learning of active citizenship in school. Students' comments indicated that activities by NGOs significantly influence their citizenship development, one that entails the provisions of social services within the civil society. Yet, according to the students and teachers, the civics program of study which aims to create a citizenship for the state focuses mainly on content knowledge and on the ideal social and political systems with minimal opportunities to practice critical thinking and democratic schooling. Consequently, as described by the students, civic education contradicts their constructs of an active citizenship and, perhaps, for these reasons, the vast majority of the students expressed desires to participate with NGO-related activities in things they would like to do. This illustrates a no-win situation whereby civics has, to a large extent, reinforced a level of mistrust among students towards the elitist government system and, as a result, they feel more confident in participating in a privatized public sphere than engaging within the government system.

Also, this suggests that their constructs of active citizenship are based on active citizenship learning which is also informed by their responses that led to the construction of a model of citizenship education.

Another original contribution to knowledge in citizenship education is the model of education for active citizenship which emerged from the students' diamond rankings of themes in citizenship (see Figure 6.7). Their rankings and the written comments giving reasons to their rankings suggested a basic framework of citizenship learning. This starts with an emphasis on **universal principles** such as respect, solidarity and civility at the heart of the model. This replicates Crick's (2000), Kymlicka's (2001) and Parekh's (2000) arguments of humanistic and democratic values as prerequisites in education for democratic citizenship. Students then argued for the acquisition of **knowledge of communities** by learning human rights and laws. These two, as maintained by the students, provide the necessary platform from which to practice for **active participation**. This model closely resembles the cognitive aspects of knowledge and skills in Hoskins et al.'s (2008) framework for civic competence. Furthermore, emphasis on content knowledge prior to practice also reaffirms Parker's (2004) argument of content knowledge providing strong foundations for active participation. Moreover, this model also emerges as one of the first student-constructed models of citizenship education.

9.1.2 Teachers' practices and challenges of teaching civics

Through a social constructivist paradigm, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 19 civic education teachers in schools throughout four of the six provinces in Lebanon. The conversations explored their understandings of citizenship, philosophies of teaching and learning and experiences from their civics classroom teaching. To date, this would be the first study in Lebanon to explore civic education teachers' understandings of citizenship and their teaching experiences.

From the findings, the teachers' responses suggested minimalist notions of citizenship, a dominant pedagogy of rote learning and controversies in facilitating in-class debates and

discussions. Furthermore, these emerging themes have also revealed shared understandings and tensions between teachers and students. The following three findings from the teacher interviews contribute to the knowledge of citizenship and education for active citizenship:

- Understandings of a minimalist notion of citizenship
- Tensions in memorization and citizenship learning
- Controversies in facilitating dialogic learning activities

When the teachers talked about citizenship, they talked about nationalism. Within a context of sectarian divides, nationalism emerges as a common platform for unity. The teachers supported this idea by arguing that a strong sense of belonging to the country would replace the already existing “blind commitments” to political affiliations. Furthermore, some teachers described certain behaviours which validated the national sense of belonging, essential for social cohesion, such as singing the national anthem and abiding by the laws. However, McLaughlin (1992) interprets such understandings of citizenship as minimal notions since the identity is limited to legal status and participation minimized to voting and following laws. Furthermore, this finding revealed a tension between the teachers and the students’ maximal notions of citizenship since some of the students spoke languages other than Arabic and had interests in levels other than the national one which included global, regional and humanistic levels. Thus, this minimal notion of citizenship may not be conducive to preparing the students to changes in diversity around the world and even in Lebanon; especially when the teachers’ reflections on teaching civics suggested memorization to be a common pedagogical practice.

The majority of teachers described civic education to be a dialogic and participative subject. Some schools had introduced community service hours as a requirement for graduation. Some had organized mock elections. However, their reflections on classroom teaching revealed a dominant pedagogy of memorization. This finding suggested that teachers viewed memorization as: 1) a strategy necessary to **pass official exams** despite the questions assessing critical thinking and content analysis and to **gain knowledge** of specific laws and rights; 2) a pedagogy that has **driven assessment** since some teachers

found it necessary to provide the students with summaries and outlines for classroom tests; 3) a pedagogy for students whom teachers perceived as too young, and thus, with **limited capacity to express opinions** through class discussions; and, finally, 4) an indicator of and practice for the promotion of **the seriousness of civic education** as a subject. These findings suggest a culture of memorization in Lebanon's civic education classrooms which, as I illustrated in the literature review, has deep-rooted traditions in education systems in West Asia and North Africa. Evidence from the students' reflections revealed a strong sense of resistance to memorization since, as their arguments revealed, the pedagogy did not inform their active and participative concepts of citizenship. Still, many teachers did facilitate class discussions and debates, though their reflections suggested some controversies.

A general aim of the national curriculum in Lebanon emphasizes the importance of dialogic skills for active citizenship. Furthermore, teachers have also described the nature of civics being a subject that requires talk and discussions. However, teachers who facilitated dialogic activities experienced difficulties in **managing emotions during and after controversial topics** like government systems and political parties. Furthermore, since some teachers could not help but argue their opinions and try to convince the students, they also revealed the challenges of being neutral and objective facilitators. This finding also suggested classroom talk being more hierarchical and dialectic than democratic and dialogic. In addition, some teachers argued for the prevention of discussions on controversial issues to avoid tensions and conflicts between students, students-teacher and teacher-home. A few students, too, preferred not to have any discussions on politics at all. In Weinstein et al.'s (2007) case studies on education in four post-conflict societies, teachers preferred to avoid dialogic activities due to possible conflicts among students in the classroom and that governments regarded class discussions as threats since they promoted critical thinking. In the context of Lebanon, the findings reveal similar challenges. In addition, evidence of teachers' subjectivities suggests occasions of controversial roles in teaching controversial issues.

Findings from the teacher interviews and students' inputs into the survey pack and class discussion have uncovered student- and teacher-constructed realities of the challenges, controversies and praised practices of teaching and learning citizenship education for social cohesion in Lebanon. Finally, the innovations in the methodology of this research study demonstrate pioneering activities in ethics in education research, classroom teaching and learning and education reform.

9.1.3 Innovations in methodology

The methodology of this research study resulted in discoveries of teachers' and students' constructed realities which can contribute to education and development for social cohesion in Lebanon. In addition, the innovative methods of collecting data through a **social constructivist** paradigm, a **children's rights-based approach** and a framework of **effective learning principles** demonstrated benefits for student participants in social science research, indicated the feasibility of participative learning activities in the civics classroom and revealed the capabilities of students' contributions to education reform.

Benefits for the students

The first of two frameworks that enhanced students' benefits comes from Article 12 of the UNCRC. In education, this article legally binds researchers and practitioners to consult children and consider their opinions when making decisions for them. So, while I benefited through compliance with Article 12, students also benefited since their active contributions provided for them an **opportunity to practice** this legal right. In addition, the design of the survey pack is based on the elements of construction, co-construction and review and monitoring from a framework for effective learning by Watkins et al. (2007). Hence, through the activities of the survey pack, students benefited from having opportunities to construct their conceptualizations of citizenship and citizenship education, co-construct through group discussions and review their learning by reflecting on, writing and discussing difficulties in and opportunities for learning active citizenship. Moreover, students expressed some of these benefits when writing their feedback about

their experience of completing the survey pack (see Appendix R). So, while these two frameworks enhanced the students' benefits, they also grounded the design and success of a participative civics class lesson.

Feasibility of dialogic and participative learning

The literature review and empirical findings suggested that classroom teaching and learning of citizenship in Lebanon are grounded in traditions and practices of memorization with limited opportunities for dialogic and participative activities. And, so, I have discovered from the **degree of students' engagement** with the survey pack and class discussion, their **comments on the exercises** and some of the teachers' **expressions of support** that participative and dialogic activities in civic education classrooms in Lebanon are, to an extent, feasible.

A total of 441 students received survey packs during data collection. Only six of the survey packs were incomplete and, thus, discarded from the sample. This showed a significantly high level of student participation. In addition, they also demonstrated their degree of engagement by providing responses that constructed their conceptualizations of a communitarian-based citizenship with maximal notions of feelings and practices. Also, the diamond ranking exercise and their reflections on civics learning indicated common trends that suggested a model for citizenship education and which expressed desires for activities that inform their maximal notions of citizenship in place of existing practices of memorization. Some students concluded the class session by providing feedback on the overall experience (see Appendix R) which also showed levels of enthusiasm and learning from the activities of constructing, participating and talking about their understandings of citizenship and experiences while learning it.

Also, the teachers received the survey pack and class discussion with curiosity and enthusiasm despite their arguments for memorization and the findings that revealed limitations to facilitate dialogic and participative activities. Some teachers asked for a blank copy of the survey pack for future civics classes. A few did the exercises

themselves while others could not help but try to engage in the discussions at the end of the class. So, while the students actively engaged with the exercises and expressed their benefits through feedback, teachers also showed a degree of interest and willingness to continue or build on the activities. Therefore, these findings suggest that teachers in private schools in Lebanon can deploy dialogic and participative activities. Nevertheless, the degree of feasibility still rests on particular variables which teachers and students have pointed out as barriers to learning active citizenship. These include the pressures of passing official exams, the prescriptive approach of the civics textbook and the limited or lack of training to facilitate active learning in the classroom.

Capabilities of contributing to education reform

In the twenty-first century, researchers have taken a considerable interest in the frameworks, procedures and issues of consulting young people for research or consultative purposes (Bragg, 2007), though resistance or a lack of awareness still continues. In Lebanon, BouJaoude & Ghaith (2006) maintain that education reform in the 1990s failed to make any provisions of consulting students when revising the national curriculum and education policy. The findings from this study demonstrate the extent to which students are capable of contributing to education research and reform. Their experiences and opinions in the open-ended questions of the survey pack led to the findings that suggested a catch-22 in their citizenship learning, a model for citizenship education and the extent to which the curriculum and textbook act as barriers to learning active citizenship. Since these student-constructed outcomes address fundamental issues concerning the challenges of education for active citizenship, the consultation of students through a constructivist approach demonstrates their capabilities of providing valuable inputs into reforming education policy and practice.

The innovations of methodology in this research study emerged as pioneering activities which researchers, teachers, students and policy-makers can learn or gain from:

- The importance of ethical considerations to student participants;
- The confidence in students to contribute to reform and policy making;
- The confidence in teachers to facilitate student-led activities.

These pioneering examples contribute – to education and education for citizenship in Lebanon and other post-conflict societies – participative activities that could narrow the gap between intention and implementation. In the next section, I present recommendations based on the findings and on student and teacher suggestions.

9.2 Recommendations based on students, teachers and findings

When closing the interviews, I asked the teachers what changes they would make to civic education. The students, too, had an opportunity to write down possible improvements to their civics learning. Teachers focused on top-down modifications such as the MOE increasing the coefficient of civics in official exams or removing the corruption from society. Students, though, saw change happening from bottom-up with adjustments in the classroom by increasing the frequencies of debates, removing memorization and starting research projects. Drawing on the evidence, I have constructed a list of recommendations (see Table 9.1). These recommendations address the first two of nine principles argued by El-Amine (2004) for education reform: 1) providing educational opportunities that place the students first as primary stakeholders; and 2) ensuring and enhancing the quality of education. After Table 9.1, I further expand on recommendations for professional development, language in education and the construction of a declaration for education for social cohesion.

Table 9.1 Evidence-based recommendations

<p>Curriculum design and development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Integrate active citizenship across curriculum. - Provide civics in English and French for the Lebanese system, International Baccalaureate, High School Diploma and other private education systems in Lebanon. - Address real-life issues in the textbook by providing opportunities for students and teachers to critically explore them. - Remove repetitive lessons found in civics, sociology and history. - Increase the frequency of revisions made to the national curriculum. Up till now, it has been 1946, 1968-71, and 1997; an average of 25 years.
<p>Timetable</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase the number of civic hours from 30 to 45 per year. - Promote the practice of teaching civics in the morning rather end of the day.
<p>Education system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Review the system of placements of students who fail the Science Baccalaureate exams. Instead of placing them in Arts, require them to re-sit for Arts. - To encourage mixing Science and Arts students in shared subject matters such as civics, geography, history and language arts.
<p>Pedagogy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aim at minimizing surface approaches to learning such as strategies of memorization and promote collaborative and dialogic activities. In addition to the support provided from the changes in curriculum and assessment practices, other provisions include the promotion of research projects, presentations, in-class debates and activities that provide support to surrounding communities (cf Nabti, 2006). - Facilitate opportunities to use Information Technology such as media, internet, etc.
<p>Teacher training</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training for facilitating discussions on controversial issues, group work and raise confidence in active learning to have children construct, collaborate and review. - Provisions for continuous professional development for existing civics teachers. - Review and monitor qualifications of teachers in private and public schools as part of school inspections.
<p>Assessment and evaluation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote more formative forms of assessment through learning activities such as research projects, presentations and reflection journals. Content-knowledge of laws and government systems can be integrated into these activities so as to minimize strategies of rote learning. - Review the coefficients of subject matters in the official exams with the purpose of raising the stakes of civic education. - Review provisions of whole-school evaluation involving school self-evaluations and constructive reviews by school inspectors.

In November 2008, the American University of Beirut invited me to report the findings of this thesis at an education forum titled, *Education for Social Cohesion and Citizenship* (Akar, 2008a). A representative from an NGO asked, “If you had one recommendation,

what would it be?" I replied with no hesitation, "Teacher training and continuous professional development". Nearly all the teachers and students in this study reflected on challenges related to classroom pedagogy and none of the teachers had held a specialized written qualification to teach civic education. While El-Amine (2004) proposes the attainment of a written qualification prior to pursuing a teaching career, he oversees the alternative of continuous professional development for teachers already in practice. Considering these, an important outcome would be for me to design and implement, on a nation-wide scale, a series of workshops for citizenship education teachers (civics, history and geography) which provide opportunities to reflect on practices and challenges with colleagues. Also, the workshops would provide training on facilitating discussions on controversial issues and on assessment for citizenship learning. These may be further developed with Teach for Lebanon, part of an international network of the NGO "Teach for All" for the professional development of teachers around the world.

Immediately before chapter 1, I presented notes on the editorial style of the thesis and described how Arabic writing takes on the masculine form by default. However, in Lebanon's patriarchal society with certain rights and practices exclusive to males (Joseph, 1999a), the gender-biased language in education may further limit the learning and awareness of gender equality. Moreover, no attempts have been made to remedy this. So, I propose to provide a gender-neutral translation using plural forms to avoid specifying gender. I also propose to produce a new English language version of the national curriculum and its civics program of study. In addition to modifying the language in education, changes in the **approach of the content** may significantly contribute towards motivating the students towards learning citizenship in their civics classroom. The findings suggest that the prescriptive texts demotivate the students. Therefore, the ideals of citizenship found in the book should be supplemented with dialogic and participative activities that encourage exploration into real-life situations.

In addition to modifying the language in education, changes in the **approach of the content** may significantly contribute towards motivating the students towards learning citizenship in their civics classroom. The findings suggest that the perceived prescriptive

texts demotivate the students. Therefore, the ideals of citizenship found in the book may be supplemented with dialogic and participative activities that encourage exploration into real-life situations.

9.3 Implications for further research

The sample used in this study and the emerging themes and issues raised in the discussions suggest further research across numerous areas. This thesis explored the teaching and learning of civic education in Lebanese private, secondary schools. Based on the sample, researchers can further investigate **civic education in the public sector** building on Shuayb's (2007) findings of teaching and learning practices in public and private schools. Also, studies can probe into **learning in elementary education for active citizenship** building on Frayha's (1994) study on the social and political education of elementary school children. In addition to widening the sample, the themes from this study put forward three main inquiries which can also address similar issues in other contexts around the world.

One of interesting themes came from the discussions that related to emotions in teaching and learning citizenship. Teachers and students described emotional experiences that enhanced civics learning and reflected on the difficulties of managing emotions that challenged facilitating and participating in in-class debates. So, in light of a case study in the United States (cf DeCuir-Gunby & Williams, 2007) and a range of conceptual frameworks (Rogers, 1983; Schutz & Pekrun, 2007; Yarlott, 1972), researchers can further **explore the management of emotions in teaching and learning controversial issues** as an educational aim for active citizenship.

A second area for further inquiry is an extension of the philosophical discourse of dialogue. When I first started this thesis, I shared my curiosities of dialogue as a skill for active citizenship with a prominent Lebanese historian, Fawwaz Traboulsi (2006), who responded, dialogue is a "Western invention" used as a stalling device in conflict resolutions. Similarly, Siddiqui (1997) supports this notion with the view that the Holy

Qur'an remains the absolute scripture, thus creating a level of mistrust towards 'Western' dialogue from the Muslims (for rationales of mistrust, see pp. 51-54). However, at the same time, Islamic scholars have claimed Islam to be "the religion of dialogue" (Al-Jirari, 2000, p. 9). Furthermore, the skill of dialogue can be found as one of the general educational aims in the national curriculum and as a critical practice of teaching and learning which the students and teachers have found to be central in their challenges and opportunities of teaching and learning for active citizenship. Therefore, this raises an inquiry into a **philosophical review on the cultural constructions of dialogic pedagogy** drawing on literature from Western Europe and North America (Bakhtin, 1986a, 1986b; Dewey, 1938, 1944 [1916]; Habermas, 1984 [1981], 1990) and from West Asia and North Africa (Al-Jirari, 2000; Al 'Alwānī, 1994; Ibn Khaldūn, 2005 [1370]; Khātami, 2000; Sadiki, 2004).

For the overall development of education, the findings in this thesis raise the stakes in approaches to education reform and development. As highlighted by BouJaoude & Ghaith (2006), education reform in Lebanon in the 1990s did not make explicit provisions to involve the primary stake holders: students, teachers and parents. Thus, the rich amount of data from students gathered that constructed their conceptualizations of citizenship, a model for citizenship education and controversies in classroom teaching and learning lead to a critical research study on the **opportunities and barriers for consulting students in education reform**. Supporting frameworks include Article 12 of the UNCRC and an initial literature review on consulting young people by Bragg (2007).

9.4 Final thoughts

The past three years have been an intense and overwhelming learning experience. I do not have enough room in this final section of the thesis to begin outlining it. But, from the evidence from this research study, on the whole, I see a particular reality that intrigues and worries me.

At a policy level, the government of Lebanon has an educational plan – the national curriculum and the civics program of study – to move the country closer towards social cohesion, democracy and peace. But, on the ground, the practice appears often to be inadequate to meet the aims of education in Lebanon. My research suggests that corruption, political confessionalism, traditions of memorization, official exams, the timetable, civics textbooks, school policy and teacher training are significant challenges. Indeed, the findings from this study show the extent to which civic education fails to address the real issues and challenges of social cohesion in Lebanon.

Civic education, as a program of study, intends to contribute positively towards national progress and development by training students to actively participate, critically analyze and democratically engage in the political, social, economic and environmental spheres. However, as found in the students' and teachers' responses, the dominant pedagogy of memorization in the civics classroom and the prescriptive civics textbooks demotivate the majority of students to learn active citizenship through civic education. Still, the evidence suggests that the students' experiences of practice and engagement largely influenced their maximal and active notions of citizenship. In this study, the students' conceptualizations of citizenship indicate their motivations to participate and contribute as agents for change to benefit communities and individuals in need and are motivated and promoted through NGOs and other non-government-related activities. Therefore, since civic education consists of more rote learning of an ideal citizenship with limited opportunities to practice through dialogic and participative activities, this program of study appears to create a citizenship that is detached and marginalized from government systems and institutions necessary for social cohesion. So, in addition to this no-win situation which I discussed earlier in section 7.6.1 as the catch-22 of civic education, civics appears to further widen the gap between the educational aims for active citizenship and the actual outcomes of this program of study. In other words, if the passive pedagogies and prescriptive texts remain as primary components of civic education in Lebanon, the findings in this thesis suggest that civics is, indeed, engendering cynicism. Young adults will continue to be marginalized from the government systems and its state institutions, thus, leaving the elite and the confessional

representatives in the consociational democracy to continue their exclusive and controversial monopoly of power.

On the other hand, schools in Lebanon can, to a large extent, contribute to the development of a citizenship grounded in humanistic and democratic principles for actively promoting democracy, peace and justice. The evidence shows that the majority of their students come into the classrooms with maximal conceptions of citizenship. Therefore, schools have the golden opportunity to make an impact in the children's citizenship learning for democratic participation and social cohesion if the approaches to learning and education embrace the principle of **active pedagogy for active citizenship**. For this generation and those that follow, the actual practices, inside and outside the classroom, of dialogue, critical thinking and democratic participation will raise the chances of creating citizens that will know and feel a citizenship for living together, whether in their village, country or the rest of the world.

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Appendix A₁

The Ta'if Accord⁴⁴

This agreement, which ended the civil war in Lebanon, was negotiated in Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, in September 1989 and approved by the Lebanese parliament on 4 November 1989.

First, General Principles and Reforms:

I. General Principles

A. Lebanon is a sovereign, free, and independent country and a final homeland for all its citizens.

B. Lebanon is Arab in belonging and identity. It is an active and founding member of the Arab League and is committed to the league's charter. It is an active and founding member of the United Nations Organization and is committed to its charters. Lebanon is a member of the nonaligned movement. The state of Lebanon shall embody these principles in all areas and spheres, without exception.

C. Lebanon is a democratic parliamentary republic founded on respect for public liberties, especially the freedom of expression and belief, on social justice, and on equality in rights and duties among all citizens, without discrimination or preference.

D. The people are the source of authority. They are sovereign and they shall exercise their sovereignty through the constitutional institutions.

E. The economic system is a free system that guarantees individual initiative and private ownership.

F. Culturally, socially, and economically-balanced development is a mainstay of the state's unity and of the system's stability.

G. Efforts (will be made) to achieve comprehensive social justice through fiscal, economic, and social reform.

H. Lebanon's soil is united and it belongs to all the Lebanese. Every Lebanese is entitled to live in and enjoy any part of the country under the supremacy of the law. The people may not be categorized on the basis of any affiliation whatsoever and there shall be no fragmentation, no partition, and no repatriation [of Palestinians in Lebanon].

I. No authority violating the common co-existence charter shall be legitimate

II. Political Reforms

A. Chamber of Deputies: The Chamber of Deputies is the legislative authority which exercises full control over government policy and activities.

⁴⁴ Retrieved from <http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/lebanon/taif.htm> on 16 September 2007.

Appendix A₂

1. The Chamber spokesman and his deputy shall be elected for the duration of the chamber's term.
 2. In the first session, two years after it elects its speaker and deputy speaker, the chamber may vote only once to withdraw confidence from its speaker or deputy speaker with a 2/3 majority of its members and in accordance with a petition submitted by at least 10 deputies. In case confidence is withdrawn, the chamber shall convene immediately to fill the vacant post.
 3. No urgent bill presented to the Chamber of Deputies may be issued unless it is included in the agenda of a public session and read in such a session, and unless the grace period stipulated by the constitution passes without a resolution on such a bill with the approval of the cabinet.
 4. The electoral district shall be the governorate.
 5. Until the Chamber of Deputies passes an election law free of sectarian restriction, the parliamentary seats shall be divided according to the following bases:
 - a. Equally between Christians and Muslims.
 - b. Proportionately between the denominations of each sect.
 - c. Proportionately between the districts.
 6. The number of members of the Chamber of Deputies shall be increased to 108, shared equally between Christians and Muslims. As for the districts created on the basis of this document and the districts whose seats became vacant prior to the proclamation of this document, their seats shall be filled only once on an emergency basis through appointment by the national accord government that is planned to be formed.
 7. With the election of the first Chamber of Deputies on a national, not sectarian, basis, a senate shall be formed and all the spiritual families shall be represented in it. The senate powers shall be confined to crucial issues.
- B. President of Republic:** The president of republic is the head of the state and a symbol of the country's unity. He shall contribute to enhancing the constitution and to preserving Lebanon's independence, unity, and territorial integrity in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. He is the supreme commander of the armed forces which are subject to the power of the cabinet. The president shall exercise the following powers:
1. Head the cabinet [meeting] whenever he wishes, but without voting.
 2. Head the Supreme Defense Council.
 3. Issues decrees and demand their publication. He shall also be entitled to ask the cabinet to reconsider any resolution it makes within 15 days of the date of deposal of the resolution with the presidential office. Should the cabinet insist on the adopted resolution, or should the grace period pass without issuing and returning the decree, the decree of the resolution shall be valid and must be published.

Appendix A₃

4. Promulgate laws in accordance with the grace period stipulated by the constitution and demand their publication upon ratification by the Chamber of Deputies. After notifying the cabinet, the president may also request reexamination of the laws within the grace periods provided by the constitution, and in accordance with the articles of the constitution. In case the laws are not issued or returned before the end of the grace periods, they shall be valid by law and they must be published.

5. Refer the bills presented to him by the Chamber of Deputies.

6. Name the prime minister-designate in consultation with the Chamber of Deputies speaker on the basis of binding parliamentary consultation, the outcome of which the president shall officially familiarize the speaker on.

7. Issue the decree appointing the prime minister independently.

8. On agreement with the prime minister, issue the decree forming the cabinet.

9. Issue decrees accepting the resignation of the cabinet or of cabinet ministers and decrees relieving them from their duties.

10. Appoint ambassadors, accept the accreditation of ambassadors, and award state medals by decree.

11. On agreement with the prime minister, negotiate on the conclusion and signing of international treaties which shall become valid only upon approval by the cabinet. The cabinet shall familiarize the Chamber of Deputies with such treaties when the country's interest and state safety make such familiarization possible. As for treaties involving conditions concerning state finances, trade treaties, and other treaties which may not be abrogated annually, they may not be concluded without Chamber of Deputies' approval.

12. When the need arises, address messages to the Chamber of Deputies.

13. On agreement with the prime minister, summon the Chamber of Deputies to hold special sessions by decree.

14. The president of the republic is entitled to present to the cabinet any urgent issue beyond the agenda.

15. On agreement with the prime minister, call the cabinet to hold a special session whenever he deems it necessary.

16. Grant special pardon by decree.

17. In the performance of his duty, the president shall not be liable unless he violates the constitution or commits high treason.

C. Prime Minister: The prime minister is the head of the government. He represents it and speaks in its name. He is responsible for implementing the general policy drafted by the cabinet. The prime minister shall exercise the following powers:

1. Head the cabinet.

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2. Hold parliamentary consultations to form the cabinet and co-sign with the president the decree forming it. The cabinet shall submit its cabinet statement to the Chamber of Deputies for a vote of confidence within 30 days [of its formation]. The cabinet may not exercise its powers before gaining the confidence, after its resignation, or when it is considered retired, except within the narrow sense of disposing of affairs.
3. Present the government's general policy to the Chamber of Deputies.
4. Sign all decrees, except for decrees naming the prime minister and decrees accepting cabinet resignation or considering it retired.
5. Sign the decree calling for a special session and decrees issuing laws and requesting the reexamination of laws.
6. Summon the cabinet to meet, draft its agenda, familiarize the president of the republic in advance with the issues included in the agenda and with the urgent issues to be discussed, and sign the usual session minutes.
7. Observe the activities of the public departments and institutions, coordinate between the ministers, and issue general instructions to ensure the smooth progress of work.
8. Hold working sessions with the state agencies concerned in the presence of the minister concerned.
9. By law, act as the Supreme Defense Council's deputy chairman.

D. Cabinet:

The executive power shall be vested in the Cabinet.

The following are among the powers exercised by it:

- 1- Set the general policy of the State in all domains, draws up draft bills and decrees, and takes the necessary decisions for its implementation.
2. Watch over the implementation of laws and regulations and supervise the activities of all the state agencies without exception, including the civilian, military, and security departments and institutions.
3. The cabinet is the authority which controls the armed forces.
4. Appoint, dismiss, and accept the resignation of state employees in accordance with the law.
5. It has the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies at the request of the president of the republic if the chamber refuses to meet throughout an ordinary or a special session lasting no less than one month, even though it is summoned twice consecutively, or if the chamber sends back the budget in its entirety with the purpose of paralyzing the government. This right may not be exercised again for the same reasons which called for dissolving the chamber in the first instance.

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6. When the president of the republic is present, he heads cabinet sessions. The cabinet shall meet periodically at special headquarters. The legal quorum for a cabinet meeting is 2/3 the cabinet members. The cabinet shall adopt its resolutions by consent. If impossible, then by vote. The resolutions shall be adopted by a majority of the members present. As for major issues, they require the approval of 2/3 the cabinet members. The following shall be considered major issues: The state of emergency and its abolition, war and peace, general mobilization, international agreements and treaties, the state's general budget, comprehensive and long-term development plans, the appointment of top-level civil servants or their equivalent, reexamination of the administrative division, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, the election law, the citizenship law, the personal status laws, and the dismissal of cabinet ministers.

E. Minister: The minister's powers shall be reinforced in a manner compatible with the government's general policy and with the principle of collective responsibility. A minister shall not be relieved from his position unless by cabinet decree or unless the Chamber of Deputies withdraws its confidence from him individually.

F. Cabinet Resignation, Considering Cabinet Retired, and Dismissal of Ministers:

1. The cabinet shall be considered retired in the following cases:
 - a. If its chairman resigns.
 - b. If it loses more than 1/3 of its members as determined by the decree forming it.
 - c. If its chairman dies.
 - d. At the beginning of a president's term.
 - e. At the beginning of the Chamber of Deputies' term.
 - f. When the Chamber of Deputies withdraws its confidence from it on an initiative by the chamber itself and on the basis of a vote of confidence.
2. A minister shall be relieved by a decree signed by the president of the republic and the prime minister, with cabinet approval.
3. When the cabinet resigns or is considered retired, the Chamber of Deputies shall, by law, be considered to be convened in a special session until a new cabinet is formed. A vote-of-confidence session shall follow.

G. Abolition of Political Secterianism: Abolishing political secterianism is a fundamental national objective. To achieve it, it is required that efforts be made in accordance with a phased plan. The Chamber of Deputies elected on the basis of equal sharing by Christians and Muslims shall adopt the proper measures to achieve this objective and to form a national council which is headed by the president of the republic and which includes, in addition to the prime minister and the Chamber of Deputies speaker, political, intellectual, and social notables. The council's task will be to examine and propose the means capable of abolishing sectarianism, to present them to the Chamber of Deputies and the cabinet, and to observe implementation of the phased plan. The following shall be done in the interim period:

- a. Abolish the sectarian representation base and rely on capability and specialization in public jobs, the judiciary, the military, security, public, and joint institutions, and in the

Appendix A₆

independent agencies in accordance with the dictates of national accord, excluding the top-level jobs and equivalent jobs which shall be shared equally by Christians and Muslims without allocating any particular job to any sect.

b. Abolish the mention of sect and denomination on the identity card.

III. Other Reforms

A. Administrative Decentralism:

1. The State of Lebanon shall be a single and united state with a strong central authority.
2. The powers of the governors and district administrative officers shall be expanded and all state administrations shall be represented in the administrative provinces at the highest level possible so as to facilitate serving the citizens and meeting their needs locally.
3. The administrative division shall be recognized in a manner that emphasizes national fusion within the framework of preserving common coexistence and unity of the soil, people, and institutions.
4. Expanded administrative decentralization shall be adopted at the level of the smaller administrative units [district and smaller units] through the election of a council, headed by the district officer, in every district, to ensure local participation.
5. A comprehensive and unified development plan capable of developing the provinces economically and socially shall be adopted and the resources of the municipalities, unified municipalities, and municipal unions shall be reinforced with the necessary financial resources.

B. Courts:

[1] To guarantee that all officials and citizens are subject to the supremacy of the law and to insure harmony between the action of the legislative and executive authorities on the one hand, and the givens of common coexistence and the basic rights of the Lebanese as stipulated in the constitution on the other hand:

1. The higher council which is stipulated by the constitution and whose task it is to try presidents and ministers shall be formed. A special law on the rules of trial before this council shall be promulgated.
2. A constitutional council shall be created to interpret the constitution, to observe the constitutionality of the laws, and to settle disputes and contests emanating from presidential and parliamentary elections.
3. The following authorities shall be entitled to revise the constitutional council in matters pertaining to interpreting the constitution and observing the constitutionality of the laws:
 - a. The president of the republic.
 - b. The Chamber of Deputies speaker.
 - c. The prime minister.
 - d. A certain percentage of members of the Chamber of Deputies.

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[2] To ensure the principle of harmony between religion and state, the heads of the Lebanese sects may revise the constitutional council in matters pertaining to:

1. Personal status affairs.
2. Freedom of religion and the practice of religious rites.
3. Freedom of religious education.

[3]. To ensure the judiciary's independence, a certain number of the the Higher Judiciary Council shall be elected by the judiciary body.

D. Parliamentary Election Law: Parliamentary elections shall be held in accordance with a new law on the basis of provinces and in the light of rules that guarantee common coexistence between the Lebanese, and that ensure the sound and efficient political representation of all the people's factions and generations. This shall be done after reviewing the administrative division within the context of unity of the people, the land, and the institutions.

E. Creation of a socioeconomic council for development: A socioeconomic council shall be created to insure that representatives of the various sectors participate in drafting the state's socioeconomic policy and providing advice and proposals.

F. Education:

1. Education shall be provided to all and shall be made obligatory for the elementary stage at least.
2. The freedom of education shall be emphasized in accordance with general laws and regulations.
3. Private education shall be protected and state control over private schools and textbooks shall be strengthened.
4. Official, vocational, and technological education shall be reformed, strengthened, and developed in a manner that meets the country's development and reconstruction needs. The conditions of the Lebanese University shall be reformed and aid shall be provided to the university, especially to its technical colleges.
5. The curricula shall be reviewed and developed in a manner that strengthens national belonging, fusion, spiritual and cultural openness, and that unifies textbooks on the subjects of history and national education.

G. Information: All the information media shall be reorganized under the canopy of the law and within the framework of responsible liberties that serve the cautious tendencies and the objective of ending the state of war.

Second, spreading the sovereignty of the State of Lebanon over all Lebanese territories:

Considering that all Lebanese factions have agreed to the establishment of a strong state founded on the basis of national accord, the national accord government shall draft a detailed one-year plan whose objective is to spread the sovereignty of the State of

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Lebanon over all Lebanese territories gradually with the state's own forces. The broad lines of the plan shall be as follows:

A. Disbanding of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias shall be announced. The militias' weapons shall be delivered to the State of Lebanon within a period of 6 months, beginning with the approval of the national accord charter. The president of the republic shall be elected. A national accord cabinet shall be formed, and the political reforms shall be approved constitutionally.

B. The internal security forces shall be strengthened through:

1. Opening the door of voluntarism to all the Lebanese without exception, beginning the training of volunteers centrally, distributing the volunteers to the units in the governorates, and subjecting them to organized periodic training courses.
2. Strengthening the security agency to insure control over the entry and departure of individuals into and out of the country by land, air, and sea.

C. Strengthening the armed forces:

1. The fundamental task of the armed forces is to defend the homeland, and if necessary, protect public order when the danger exceeds the capability of the internal security forces to deal with such a danger on their own.
2. The armed forces shall be used to support the internal security forces in preserving security under conditions determined by the cabinet.
3. The armed forces shall be unified, prepared, and trained in order that they may be able to shoulder their national responsibilities in confronting Israeli aggression.
4. When the internal security forces become ready to assume their security tasks, the armed forces shall return to their barracks.
5. The armed forces intelligence shall be reorganized to serve military objectives exclusively.

D. The problem of the Lebanese evacuees shall be solved fundamentally, and the right of every Lebanese evicted since 1975 to return to the place from which he was evicted shall be established. Legislation to guarantee this right and to insure the means of reconstruction shall be issued. Considering that the objective of the State of Lebanon is to spread its authority over all the Lebanese territories through its own forces, represented primarily by the internal security forces, and in view of the fraternal relations binding Syria to Lebanon, the Syrian forces shall thankfully assist the forces of the legitimate Lebanese government to spread the authority of the State of Lebanon within a set period of no more than 2 years, beginning with ratification of the national accord charter, election of the president of the republic, formation of the national accord cabinet, and approval of the political reforms constitutionally. At the end of this period, the two governments -- the Syrian Government and the Lebanese National Accord Government -- shall decide to redeploy the Syrian forces in Al-Biq'a area from Dahr al-Baydar to the Hammana-al-Mudayrij-'Ayn Darah line, and if necessary, at other points to be

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determined by a joint Lebanese-Syrian military committee. An agreement shall also be concluded by the two governments to determine the strength and duration of the presence of Syrian forces in the above-mentioned area and to define these forces' relationship with the Lebanese state authorities where the forces exist. The Arab Tripartite Committee is prepared to assist the two states, if they so wish, to develop this agreement.

Third, liberating Lebanon from the Israeli occupation:

Regaining state authority over the territories extending to the internationally-recognized Lebanese borders requires the following:

- A. Efforts to implement resolution 425 and the other UN Security Council resolutions calling for fully eliminating the Israeli occupation.
- B. Adherence to the truce agreement concluded on 23 March 1949.
- C. Taking all the steps necessary to liberate all Lebanese territories from the Israeli occupation, to spread state sovereignty over all the territories, and to deploy the Lebanese army in the border area adjacent to Israel; and making efforts to reinforce the presence of the UN forces in South Lebanon to insure the Israeli withdrawal and to provide the opportunity for the return of security and stability to the border area.

Fourth, Lebanese-Syrian Relations:

Lebanon, with its Arab identity, is tied to all the Arab countries by true fraternal relations. Between Lebanon and Syria there is a special relationship that derives its strength from the roots of blood relationships, history, and joint fraternal interests. This is the concept on which the two countries' coordination and cooperation is founded, and which will be embodied by the agreements between the two countries in all areas, in a manner that accomplishes the two fraternal countries' interests within the framework of the sovereignty and independence of each of them. Therefore, and because strengthening the bases of security creates the climate needed to develop these bonds, Lebanon should not be allowed to constitute a source of threat to Syria's security, and Syria should not be allowed to constitute a source of threat to Lebanon's security under any circumstances. Consequently, Lebanon should not allow itself to become a pathway or a base for any force, state, or organization seeking to undermine its security or Syria's security. Syria, which is eager for Lebanon's security, independence, and unity and for harmony among its citizens, should not permit any act that poses a threat to Lebanon's security, independence, and sovereignty.

Appendix B

The National Pact of 1943⁴⁵

1. Lebanon was to be a completely independent sovereign state. The Christians were to forego seeking foreign protection (i.e., Western and in particular French) or attempting to bring Lebanon under foreign control or influence. In return, the Muslims were to forego making any attempt to bring Lebanon into any political union with Syria, or into any form of Arab union.
2. Lebanon was a country with an Arab “face” and language and a part of the Arab world – with a special “character”. Despite its Arabism, however, Lebanon would not cut off its cultural and spiritual ties with Western civilization, which had helped it to reach an enviable degree of progress.
3. Lebanon was to cooperate with all the Arab states and to become a member in the Arab family, provided the Arab states recognized its independence and sovereignty within the present boundaries. In its relation with the Arab states, Lebanon should not side with one group against another.
4. Public offices would be distributed equitably among the recognized confessions, but in technical positions preference would be given to competence without regard to confessional considerations. The three leading positions in the country were to be distributed according to the following convention: President of the Republic, Maronite; the Prime Minister, Sunni Muslim; the President of Parliament, Shi’a Muslim.”

⁴⁵ Taken from *Al-Marayati* (1968, pp. 245-246).

Ministry of Education circular for history textbooks

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عذير التعمير الإلهي
إني لم أكن أعلم

تحت إشراف وزارة الداخلية
مديرية الأمن العام

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Appendix D

Map of the Six Provinces in Lebanon



Source: http://www.shoofimafi.com/leb101_about_lebanon.cfm

Appendix E

Participant Information Sheet for teachers

Institute of Education, University of London
School of Arts and Humanities

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Mobile: 0044 798 1010249 (In Lebanon 03 389 378)
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Title of Research: **Exploring the challenges of teaching and learning citizenship in Lebanon.**

This is a research study for a doctoral thesis under the supervision of Dr. Hugh Starkey (h.starkey@ioe.ac.uk).

Dear Participant,

I am a research student at the Institute of Education, University of London, investigating citizenship education in Lebanon. My research looks at two things. First, I try and find out what 'citizenship' means to both teachers and students. Then, I look at some teaching and learning practices that have taken place within the National and Civics Education classroom. In discussing these experiences, I will also specifically focus on the aims and practices of dialogue in the civics classroom.

The data for this research will come from teachers and students across 12 schools. I will interview 25 teachers for about 35 minutes each; preferably, two teachers from each school. Please see Appendix A for the interview questions. With the students, I intend to facilitate a self-reflective exercise as a class lesson where the students can reflect by themselves and in groups. I plan to study 12 classrooms; each from a different school. Please see the lesson plan in Appendix B for the classroom exercise.

Some details I would like you to know:

- The proposed methods (interview and class lesson) have been designed to be reflective exercises. These reflections are not only beneficial for the study but also intended to benefit the school, teachers and students.
- All recorded material and names of participating schools, teachers and students are confidential and anonymous by default unless requested otherwise.

Please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor if you have any further queries.

Many thanks and kind regards,

Bassel Akar

Appendix F

Interview questions for teachers – English version

Semi-structured interview questions for teachers on the challenges of teaching *National and Civics Education*

The following questions have been designed to start discussions that reflect on two key areas of teaching citizenship:

1. concepts
2. practices of teaching and learning (pedagogy)

The interview sessions are intended to last between 30-35 minutes. Finally, the structure of the interview questions is organized into *Introduction*, *Concepts*, *Teaching* and *Final thoughts*.

Introduction

1. How long have you been teaching National and Civics Education?

Concepts

2. What do you understand by citizenship? Why is it important?
3. Why should it be taught in school? What are the most important lessons in National and Civics Education?
4. What type of citizen or person should the school through its citizenship education teach the child to be?

Teaching

5. Could you tell me about a class or event in school which was most memorable to you in teaching citizenship? (This question intends to explore both positive and challenging experiences when teaching citizenship.)
6. Have you experienced a class when a controversial issue was raised? How did you approach it? Was it planned? Was there a debate/discussion?

Final thoughts

7. How would you change teaching citizenship education in Lebanon for the future?
8. What advice would you give new teachers on teaching citizenship in National and Civics Education?
9. Are there any other thoughts concerning the challenges of teaching and learning citizenship which you would like to add?

Appendix G

Interview questions for teachers – Arabic version

المقدمة

1. كم هي المدة التي تعلم فيها تربية وطنية؟

مفاهيم

2. ما هي المواطنة؟ لماذا هي مهمة؟ ما هي أهم الدروس في التربية الوطنية والتنشئة المدنية؟
3. لماذا يجب أن تعلم في المدرسة؟ وماذا بالتحديد يجب أن تعلم المدرسة؟
4. أي نوع من المواطن على المدرسة أن تعد الطلاب عبر التربية الوطنية والتنشئة المدنية؟
5. هل تستطيع أن تخبرني عن حادث أو نشاط مدرسي رسمي حصل خلال صف التربية المدنية له علاقة بتعليم التربية المدنية؟ (ان هدف هذا السؤال هو معرفة استكشاف أي حادث سلبي أو ايجابي في تعليم التربية)
6. هل حصل لك أن شهدت نقاش حول موضوع خلافي؟ كيف عالجه؟ هل خطط له؟

أفكار أخيرة

7. ماذا تقترح لتغيير تعليم التربية المدنية في المستقبل؟
8. ما هي النصيحة التي تقدمها لأساتذة التربية المدنية الجدد؟
9. هل تريد أن تضيف أي أفكار تساعد في مواجهة تحديات تعليم التربية المدنية؟

Appendix H

Participant Information Sheet for students

Institute of Education, University of London
School of Arts and Humanities

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Title of Research: **Exploring the challenges of teaching and learning citizenship in Lebanon.**

This is a research study for a doctoral thesis under the supervision of Dr. Hugh Starkey (h.starkey@ioe.ac.uk).

Dear Student,

I am a student at the Institute of Education, University of London, doing my PhD on citizenship education in Lebanon. For my project, I want to understand what 'citizenship' means to you. I also want to look at some of your learning experiences in the *National and Civic Education* classroom which we will have a chance to discuss.

You are one of many schools from different areas across Lebanon who is participating in this study. I will be working with you carefully throughout the exercises.

Some details I would like you to know:

- I have designed the exercises to benefit you in providing an opportunity to think about citizenship and your learning experiences in the classroom.
- In my project, I will not mention names of schools or students.

Please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor if you have any further queries.

Many thanks and kind regards,

Bassel Akar

Appendix J₁

Student Survey Pack

Section I. What does it mean to be a good person in society or the community?

20 minutes

The following sections are to be done on your own.

Please circle:

Male Female

Part A.

List three things that you have done that have made you feel an important or good person in society or the community.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Part B.

What are some things you would like to know or do later on that would make you feel like a better person in society or the community?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Part C.

Think of a person you know (or that you know about) that you consider to be a good person in society or the community. Don't say who it is, but tell me...

1. What things have they done?
2. What feelings do you think they felt?
3. What do you think they had to know?

Appendix J₂

Part D. The nine cards provided are some themes we can learn in civics class. Use the glue provided to place them in this diamond map with the most important on top and least important at the bottom.



Write your own!



Appendix J₃

II. How do you learn to be a good citizen?

Part A. Remember a lesson in civics class that you specifically enjoyed. Which one was it and what happened that made it so special?

Part B. Give examples of things you have found difficult in civics class. Why were they so difficult?

Part C. What suggestions do you have for improving your civics class?

Part D. Use this space to write your ideas during the class discussion.

Thank you! 😊

Appendix K

Guide for Student Survey Pack

Survey Pack for Students

Citizenship and your *National and Civic Education* class

Total time **45-50 minutes**

Introduction **5 minutes**; Section I **20 minutes**; Section II **25 minutes**

Instructions to be read to the students:

1. First, please circle at the top whether you are a male or female.
2. In *Part A* of the first section, try to remember things that you have already done that you consider have made you better people in society or in the community.
 - a. *Example: I have picked up trash in the school playground..*
3. In *Part B*, what are the things that you would like to do or know that would make you better people in society or in the community? Here are some examples:
 - a. *Example: I would like to know how to grow fruits.*
 - b. *Example: I would one day like to paint my neighbor's house.*
4. In *Part C*, think of a person you consider to be a role model or an effective person in the community or society. Tell me about them by writing down what they have done, what feelings they might have felt and what important things did they have to know.
5. In *Part D*, you are given nine cards. On them are themes of citizenship. By yourself, place them in this diamond map with the most important on top, then important, then medium in the middle, then not so important, and finally least important at the bottom. Once completed, we will briefly compare our diagrams with the rest of the class. If there is a theme that you would like to include among the nine themes, please write it down in the empty box in the lower right hand corner of the page. Also, when you are done, please write one sentence next to the top and last themes why you had placed them as most and least important.
6. In the Section II, take some time to remember some experiences you have had in your civics class. What classes or lessons were exciting? Which ones were difficult? What would you change? And please write down why.
7. Finally we will have a class discussion on what you have written. Please feel free to write any ideas that come up during the discussion at the bottom of the page.

Appendix L

Themes for diamond ranking in English and Arabic

Voting in elections	Protecting the environment	Knowing your human rights
Knowing the laws of the country you live in	Debating with others	Singing the national anthem
Volunteering or helping others	Knowing the history of the country you live in	Knowing good manners
التصويت في الانتخابات	محافظة على البيئة	معرفة حقوق الانسان
معرفة قوانين البلد	التحاور مع الاخر	اداء النشيد الوطني
التبرع لخدمة المجتمع	معرفة تاريخ البلد	معرفة الأخلاق

Appendix M

Questions in 2007 civics Brevet (Baccalaureate I) Exam⁴⁶

Question 1: Attach each point to what you see right:

Equality	•	•	The distance from hatred
Respect other's opinion	•	•	People are equal like comb's teeth
Tolerance	•	•	Human needs his brother human
Solidarity	•	•	Essential condition to a positive communication

Question 2: The civil organisations of society are multiple and various. State one function for each of these organisations:

- 1- Unions
- 2- Civil organisations (Community)
- 3- Political parties.

Question 3: Employment law, define conditions to apply for a public position. State and explain the purpose of two of these conditions.

Question 4: Specialized UN organisations take care of various tasks. Define three of these tasks within humanitarian fields.

Question 5: Present document (1): type, source and subject.

Question 6: Extract from document (1):

1. Importance of abiding by law (Respecting law)
2. Understanding corruption.
3. Four dangers for corruption in society and two ways to tackle it.

Question 7: The citizen has effective role in tackling corruption. State one way in which citizen can help tackling corruption.

Question 8: "Fortifying and developing resources is a necessity to preserve the quality of life". Write a text, not exceeding eight lines, explaining:

1. Conception of natural resources.
2. Three means to help preserving natural resources.
3. One illustration showing the misuse of few individuals for the water wealth in Lebanon.
4. Two tasks YOU can do as a citizen to help conserve water wasting.

⁴⁶ Go to <http://www.schoolnet.edu.lb/examens.htm> to access official exams and answer keys for years 2006, 2007 and 2008. Last retrieved on 6 October, 2008.

Appendix P₁

Answers to 2007 civics Brevet (Baccalaureate I) Exam

الملاحظات	العلامة	الإجابة المتوقعة	رقم السؤال
ربع علامة لكل إجابة صحيحة.	1	<p>الربط:</p> <p>المساواة ← الناس سواسية كأسنان المشط.</p> <p>احترام الرأي الآخر ← شرط ضروري للتواصل الإيجابي.</p> <p>التسامح ← الابتعاد عن الحقد والبغض.</p> <p>التضامن ← الإنسان بحاجة إلى أخيه الإنسان.</p>	1-
المطلوب تحديد هدف واحد لكل مؤسسة.	1/2 1/2 1/2	<p>هدف عمل:</p> <p>النقابات:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - الدفاع عن مصالح الفئات التي تمثلها. - التفاوض مع أصحاب العمل أو الدولة لإقرار تصحيح الأجور. - السعي لتحسين التقديمات الاجتماعية للفئات التي تمثلها. <p>الجمعيات الأهلية:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - المساهمة في توعية الرأي العام على أمور تفيدهم (بيئية، اجتماعية...). - الضغط على المعنيين لتطوير الواقع الاجتماعي والأداء العام. <p>الأحزاب:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - تقديم الخدمات العينية. - المشاركة في صنع القرار في القضايا العامة المطروحة على الساحة الوطنية. - الوصول إلى السلطة. - تفعيل المساءلة والمحاسبة في المجتمع. 	2-
المطلوب شرطان نصف علامة لذكر الشرط ونصف علامة للغاية منه.	2	<p>شروط الترشيح للوظيفة العامة والغاية من كل منها:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - أن يكون المرشح لبنانيًا منذ عشر سنوات على الأقل. - الغاية: للتأكد من انتماء المرشح للوطن وولائه له. - أن يكون قد أتمّ العشرين من عمره. - الغاية: لتوفر النضوج والوعي الكافيين لممارسة الوظيفة. - أن يبرز نسخة عن سجله العدلي. - الغاية: تفيد أنه متمتع بحقوقه المدنية، وغير محكوم عليه بجناية أو محاولة جناية. - أن يكون حائزًا للشهادات. - الغاية: لكي يتمتع بالمؤهلات العلمية والكفاءات المطلوبة لهذه الوظيفة. 	3-

Appendix P₂

<p>أو أية مهمة أخرى تقوم بها المنظمات الدولية. المطلوب ثلاث مهمات. نصف علامة لذكر كل مهمة.</p>	<p>1 1/2</p>	<p>مهام المنظمات الدولية المتخصصة في مجال خدمة الإنسان:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - مساعدة ملايين البشر على مكافحة المرض والفقر والجهل. - تخفيف حدة النزاعات الدولية. - تقوم بمهام تربوية لتشجيع العلم والعلماء ورفع مستوى التعليم. - تساهم في مساعدة الأطفال في الرعاية الصحية والاجتماعية. - تعزيز التعاون العلمي والثقافي والتربوي بين الدول والشعوب. - تساهم في تحسين أحوال العمال ورفع مستواهم المعيشي. - رفع مستوى الخدمات الصحية. - تنظم وسائل الخدمة البريدية بين الدول. - تقوم بدور حفظ السلام ومنع الحروب. - تقديم المساعدة والخبرة الفنية إلى حكومات الدول النامية في تخطيط هيكلها الأساسية. - توفير قروض للمشاريع الصغيرة. - وضع خطط عالمية للسكان وللمشاريع تنظيم الأسرة. 	<p>-4</p>
<p>الملاحظات</p>	<p>العلامة</p>	<p>الإجابة المتوقعة</p>	<p>رقم السؤال</p>
<p>أو أية فكرة تؤدي المعنى نفسه. فكرتان، نصف علامة لكل فكرة.</p>	<p>1/2 1/2 1</p>	<p>تقديم المستند (1): نوعه: نص أو شرعة. مصدره: شرعة الشباب في مكافحة الفساد، مكتب الأمم المتحدة المعني بالمخدرات والجريمة، مكتب وزير الدولة لشؤون التنمية الإدارية - بتصرف المسألة: مفهوم الفساد، مخاطره وطرق مكافحته.</p>	<p>-5</p>

Appendix P₃

<p>نصف علامة لتحديد كل خطر.</p> <p>المطلوب وسيلتان. نصف علامة لكل وسيلة.</p>	<p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>1</p>	<p>الاستخراج:</p> <p>أ - أهمية احترام القانون: يحقق المصلحة العامة.</p> <p>ب- مفهوم الفساد:</p> <p>استعمال السلطة العامة لتحقيق مكاسب خاصة وشخصية، وانتهاك القوانين والحقوق ومنظومة القيم والمعايير الأخلاقية، ويتم بطرق غير مشروعة.</p> <p>ج- أربعة مخاطر لتفشي الفساد:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - يضعف ثقة المواطنين بأجهزة الدولة وفاعلية القانون. - يعيد توزيع الدخل والثروة لصالح المفسدين. - يؤدي إلى انتهاك حقوق الإنسان الأساسية. - يعيق تحقيق التنمية الشاملة. <p>وسائل مكافحة:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - الردع - العزل - الإدانة - التشهير 	<p>-6</p>
<p>أو أية فكرة تؤدي المعنى نفسه.</p> <p>المطلوب دور واحد.</p>	<p>1</p>	<p>دور المواطن في مكافحة الفساد:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - الامتناع عن تقديم الرشوة أثناء انجاز معاملة رسمية. - اللجوء إلى هيئات المراجعات والشكاوى (التفتيش، مكاتب المراجعات والشكاوى) لملاحقة المفسدين. - اللجوء إلى وسائل الإعلام: (تلفاز، صحف، ...) لفضح المفسدين. - المشاركة في لقاءات وحملات توعية لفضح الفساد وتبيان مساوئه. 	<p>-7</p>

Appendix P₄

رقم السؤال	الإجابة المتوقعة	العلامة	الملاحظات
8-	<p>كتابة نص مترابط لا يتجاوز الثمانية أسطر يراعي النقاط التالية:</p> <p>* مفهوم الموارد الطبيعية:</p> <p>كل ما يفيد منه الإنسان ويستخدمه في حياته.</p> <p>* أنواع الموارد والامثلة:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - موارد دائمة (الشمس، الهواء، الماء). - موارد غير متجددة (موارد الطاقة: البترول، الغاز، الفحم الحجري، الوقود النووي، المعادن). - موارد متجددة: المحاصيل الزراعية والحيوانية والتربة. <p>* وسائل تساهم في المحافظة على الموارد الطبيعية:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - الحفاظ على الأرض طبيعية، هواء، مياه، تربة... - الاستعمال الأمثل للموارد المتاحة والطاقات غير المتجددة ومحاولة إيجاد طاقات متجددة بديلة نظيفة. - توزيع الثروة والموارد بشكل عادل ومناسب على مختلف الشعوب. - اعتماد مبدأ التدوير لبعض المواد والمعادن. - تنظيم التزايد السكاني عن طريق اعتماد سياسات معينة في تنظيم الأسرة. - نشر الوعي والثقافة البيئية والاجتماعية. <p>* مشهداً واحداً يظهر من خلاله سوء إستخدام بعض الأفراد للثروة المائية في لبنان:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - هدر المياه في الاستخدامات المنزلية أو في ريّ الأراضي الزراعية. - إهمال صيانة شبكة توزيع المياه في بعض المنازل. - إلقاء النفايات الصلبة والسائلة في مجاري المياه. <p>* عملان يمكن القيام بهما:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - التأكد من إغلاق صنابير المياه بعد استعمالها. - اعتماد الوسائل الحديثة في الري (التنقيط). 	<p>1 1/2</p> <p>1</p>	<p>المطلوب توضيح ثلاث وسائل نصف علامة لكل وسيلة.</p> <p>أو أي مشهد آخر يؤدي الغرض نفسه.</p>

Appendix R

Samples of students' comments on survey pack

MSH1026

I enjoyed answering the above questions because I'm interested in civics and helping others in the future.

MSE1028M10

The feeling of support or connection with this lesson

MNE119M1

This is a very nice class. I really had fun and I wish to finish my school and continue my studies as you did

DMtLM1123F13

It is an hour of enjoyment because of the sharing of ideas

MSE1028M9

I like this class because we can give our opinion and discuss everything, we can talk freely

MSH1026F24

I really enjoyed!! It made me think in many things again.

CNBz1030M3

It was a great discussion because I got to listen to what the people around me think about society.

CNBz1030M11

Class discussion is very important because it leads to understanding.

MSA1129F1

Look, I think that you are not going to benefit from this project applying it with us since honestly I think that your project is not taken that much into consideration; actually it needs concentration and I lost it because of the atmosphere.

MNE1030M13

I like the Lebanese British guy because he is intelligent and lenient since I was indecent in his class and he didn't shout on me and I like the glue part.

MNE1029M2

This class was interesting, it's really better than studying all the time because it's more lively, although civics hour is nice and educating.